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ENGLISH TONGUE.

IN FIFTY VOLUMES.

By JOHN WESLEY, M. A.
Late FELLOW of *Lincoln-College*, OXFORD.

VOL. XLIX.

BRISTOL:
Printed by E. FARLEY.

MDCCLV.

3605.aaa



Which have been published in the

ENGLISH TONGUE

in Part 1. Volume 1.

BY JOHN WELLS

London: Printed and Sold by J. WELLS, at the

VOL. I.

PRINTED

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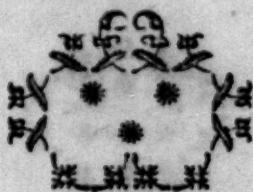
EXTRACTS

FROM THE

LIVES

OF

Sundry Eminent Persons.



EXTRACTS

FROM THE

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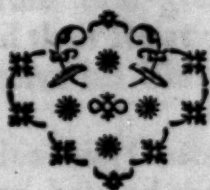
Sundry Eminent Persons



T H E
L I F E
O F
Dr. H. HAMMOND.

WRITTEN BY
JOHN FELL, D. D.

Dean of *Christ-Church*, in *Oxford*.



THE

LIFE

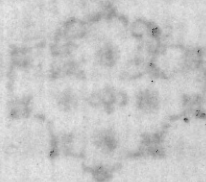
OF

DR. H. HAMMOND



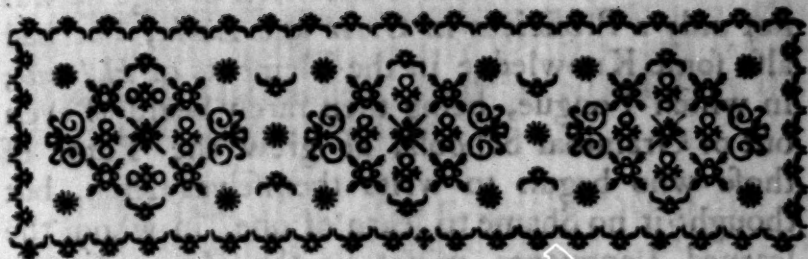
JOHN L. D.D.

Dean of Christ Church, Oxford



THE

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T H E

L I F E

O F

Dr. *H. HAMMOND.*

 *R. Henry Hammond* was born the 18th of *August*, 1605, at *Chertsey* in *Surrey*. He was the youngest Son of Dr. *John Hammond*, Physician to Prince *Henry*, and from that great Favourer of meriting Servants and their Relations, had the Honour at the Font to receive his Christian Name.

BEING yet in his long Coats, (which heretofore were usually worn beyond the Years of Infancy) he was sent to *Eaton* School; where his Pregnancy having been advantaged by the more than paternal Care and Industry of his Father, (who was an exact Critick in the learned Languages, especially the

the *Greek*) became the Observation of those that knew him: For in that *Tenderneſs* of Age he was not only a *Proſicient* in *Greek* and *Latin*, but had alſo ſome Knowledge in the Elements of *Hebrew*; in which Tongue, being then rarely heard of even out of Grammar Schools, he grew the Tutor of thoſe who begun to write themſelves Men, but thought it no Shame to learn of one, in whom the learned Languages might be thought to be the Mother-Tongue.

His Sweetneſs of Carriage is very particularly remembered by his Contemporaries, who obſerved that he was never engaged (upon any Occaſion) in any Fight or Quarrel; as alſo that at Times allowed for Play, he would ſteal from his Fellows into Places of Privacy, to ſay his Prayers; Omens of his future pacifick Temper and eminent Devotion.

WHICH Softneſs of Temper his Schoolmaſter, Mr. Buſh, who upon his Father's Account had a tender Kindneſs for him, looked upon with ſome Jealouſy; for he building upon the general Obſervation, that Gravity and Paſſivenenſs in Children is not from Diſcretion but Phlegm, ſuſpected that his Scholar's Faculties would deſert his Industry; but the Event gave a full and ſpeedy Deſeat to thoſe well-meant Miſgivings; for he ſo improved, that at thirteen Years old he was indeed ripe for the Univerſity, and accordingly ſent to *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, where not long after he was choſen *Demy*, and as ſoon as capable *Fellow*.

HAVING taken his Degree, he bought a System of Divinity, with Deſign to apply himſelf ſtraight-way to that Study: But upon ſecond Thoughts he returned for a Time to human Learning, and afterwards,

terwards, when he resumed his Purpose, took a quite different Course, beginning at the upper End, as conceiving it most reasonable to search for primitive Truth in the primitive Writers, and not to suffer his Understanding to be prepossessed by the Schemes of modern Authors.

IN the Year 1629, being twenty four Years of Age, the Statutes of his House directing it, he entered into holy Orders, and upon the same Grounds not long after took the Degree of Batchelor in Divinity, giving as happy Proof of his Proficiency in sacred, as before he had done in secular Knowledge.

DURING the whole Time of his Abode in the University, he generally spent thirteen Hours of the Day in Study; by which, besides an exact Dispatch of the whole Course of Philosophy, he read over all Classick Authors that are extant, and upon the more considerable wrote, as he passed, *Scholia* and critical Emendations, and drew up Indexes for his private Use at the Beginning and End of each Book; all which remain at this Time, and testify his indefatigable Pains.

IN the Year 1633, the Rev. Dr. *Frewen*, then President of his College, gave him the Honour to supply one of his Courses at the Court; where the Earl of *Leicester* happening to be an Auditor, was so deeply affected with the Sermon, that the Rectory of *Penshurst* being at that Time void, and in his Gift, he immediately offered him the Representation; which being accepted, he was inducted on the 22d of *August* in the same Year; and thenceforth from the Retirements of an University, applied himself to the more busy Entertainments of a rural Privacy.

IN the Discharge of his ministerial Function, he satisfied not himself in diligent and constant Preaching only, but conceived himself obliged to the offering up the solemn daily Sacrifice of Prayer for his People, administering the Sacraments, relieving the Poor, keeping Hospitality, reconciling Differences amongst Neighbours, visiting the Sick, catechising the Youth.

As to the first of these, his Preaching, it was not at the ordinary Rate of the Times, an Effusion of shallow and crude Conceptions, but a rational and just Discourse, that was to teach the Priest as well as the Lay-Hearer. His Method was (which likewise he recommended to his Friends) after every Sermon to resolve upon the ensuing Subject; that being done, to pursue the Course of Study which he was then in Hand with, reserving the Close of the Week for the Provision for the next LORD's Day: Whereby not only a constant Progress was made in Science, but Materials were gained unto the immediate future Work; for, he said, be the Subjects treated of never so distant, Somewhat will infallibly fall in conducive to the present Purpose.

THE Offices of Prayer he had in his Church, not only upon Sundays, and Festivals, and their Eves, as also Wednesdays and Fridays, but every Day in the Week, and twice on Saturdays and Holiday Eves. For his Assistance wherein he kept a Curate, and allowed him a comfortable Salary. And at those Devotions he took Order that his Family should give diligent and exemplary Attendance; which was the easilier performed, it being guided by his Mother, a Woman of ancient Virtue, and one to whom he paid a more than filial Obedience.

As to the Administration of the Sacrament, he reduced it to an Imitation, though a distant one, of primitive Frequency, to once a Month, and therewith its anciently inseparable Appendage, the Offertory; wherein his Instruction and Example so far prevailed, that there was thenceforth little Need of making any Tax for the Poor. Nay, in short Time a Stock was raised to be always ready for the apprenticing of young Children, whose Parents Condition made the Provision for them an equal Charity to both the Child and Parent.

FOR the Relief of the Poor, besides the fore-mentioned Expedient, wherein others were Sharers with him, for his private Charity, besides dedicating the Tenth of all Receipts, and the daily Alms given at the Door, he constantly set apart over and above every Week a certain Rate in Money; and however rarely his own Rent-Days occurred, the Indigent had two and fifty Quarter-Days returning in his Year.

YET farther, another Art of Charity he had, the selling Corn to his poor Neighbours below the Market Price; which was a great Benefit to them, who besides the Abatement of Price, and possibly Forbearance, saved thereby a Day's Work.

HE that was thus liberal to the necessitous Poor, was no less hospitable to those of better Quality; and as at other Times he frequently invited his Neighbours to his Table, so more especially on Sundays: But beyond the weekly Treatments, the *Christmas* Festival had a peculiar Allowance to support it. He knew well how much the Application at the Table enforced the Doctrines of the Pulpit, and

and how subservient the endearing of his Person was to the recommending his Instructions.

IN Accordance to which his generous Freedom in Alms and Hospitality, he farther obliged his Parishioners in the setting of their Tythes and Dues belonging to him: For though he understood how little Obligation there is on him that lets a Bargain to consider the casual Loss, who is sure never to share in a like Surplusage of Gain; yet herein he frequently departed from his Right: Insomuch that having set the Tythe of a large Meadow, and upon Agreement received Part of the Money at the Beginning of the Year; it happening that the Profits were afterwards spoiled and carried away by a Flood, he, when the Tenant came to make the last Payment, not only refused it, but returned the former Sum, saying to the poor Man, "God forbid I should take the Tenth, where you have not the nine Parts."

As by publick Admonition he most diligently instilled that great Doctrine of Peace and Love, so did he likewise in his private Address and Conversation, being never at Peace in himself, 'till he had procured it amongst his Neighbours; wherein God so blessed him, that he not only attained his Purpose of uniting distant Parties unto each other, but, contrary to the usual Fate of Reconcilers, gained them to himself: There having been no Person of his Function better beloved than he when present, or lamented more when absent, by his Flock: Of which tender Affection, instead of more, we may take two Instances: The one, that he being driven away, and his Books plundered, one of his Neighbours bought them in his Behalf, and preserved them for Him 'till the End of the War: The other,

other, that during his Abode at *Pensehurst* he never had any Dispute about his Dues, but had his Tythes fully paid, and not of the most refuse Parts, but generally the very best.

THOUGH he judged the Time of Sicknes an improper Season for the great Work of Repentance; yet he esteemed it a most useful Preparative, the Voice of GOD Himself exhorting to it; and therefore he not only, when desired, made his Visits to all such as stood in Need of this Charity, but prevented their Requests by early and by frequent coming to them. And this he was so careful of, that after his Remove from *Pensehurst*, being at *Oxford*, and hearing of the Sicknes of one of his Parishioners, he from thence sent to him those Instructions which he judged useful, and which he could not give at nearer Distance.

FOR the Institution of Youth in the Rudiments of Piety, his Custom was, during the warmer Season of the Year, to spend an Hour before Evening Prayer in Catechising, whereat the Parents and older Sort were wont to be present, and from whence (as he with Comfort was used to say) they reaped more Benefit than from his Sermons.

BESIDES all this, that there might be no imaginable Assistance wanting, he took Care for the providing an able Schoolmaster in the Parish, which he continued during the whole Time of his Abode.

AND as he thus laboured in the spiritual building up of Souls, he was not negligent of the material Fabrick committed to his Trust; but repaired with a very great Expence (the annual Charge of 100 l.) his Parsonage-house, 'till from an incommodious Ruin he had rendered it a fair and pleasant Dwelling,

ling, with the adherent Conveniences of Gardens and Orchards.

WHILE he was thus busy on his Charge, tho' he so prodigally laid out himself upon the Interests of his Flock, yet when the Uses of the Publick called him forth, he readily obeyed the Summons, and frequently preached both at St. Paul's Cross, and the Visitations of his Brethren the Clergy, as also at the Cathedral Church of *Chichester*, where he had the Dignity of Archdeacon; which at the Beginning of the late Troubles falling to him, he managed with great Zeal and Prudence, not only by the Charms of Christian Rhetorick, persuading to Obedience and Union, but by the Force of Demonstration, charging it as most indispensable Duty; wherein the eminent Importance of the Truths he would enforce so prevailed over his otherwise insuperable Modesty, that in a full Assembly of the Clergy, he broke off from what he had premeditated, and out of the Abundance of his Heart spoke to his Auditory; and by the Blessing of GOD, to which he attributed it, found a very signal Reception.

IN the Year 1639, he proceeded Doctor in Divinity. About this Time he became a Member of the Convocation called with the short Parliament in 1640; as after this he was named to be of the Assembly of Divines; his invincible Loyalty to his Prince not being so valid an Argument against his Nomination, as the Repute of his Learning and Virtue were on the other Part, to have some Title to him.

AND now that Conformity became a Crime, though the Committee of the Country summoned him before them, and used their best Arguments,

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he still went on in his regular Practice, and continued it 'till the Middle of *July*, 1643. At which Time there being in his Neighbourhood about *Tunbridge* an Attempt in Behalf of the King, it being defeated, the good Doctor was forced to secure himself by Retirement; withdrawing himself to his old Tutor, Dr. *Buckner*, to whom he came about the 25th of *July* early in the Morning in such an Habit as that Exigence made necessary for him, and whither not many Days before his old Friend and Fellow Pupil, Dr. *Oliver*, came upon the same Errand. The Necessity to leave his Flock, as the Doctor afterwards acknowledged, was that which most affected him of any he felt in his whole Life; amidst which, though he was no Valuer of Trifles, he had so extraordinary a Dream, that he could not then despise, nor ever afterwards forget it.

It was thus: "He thought himself and a Multitude of others to have been abroad in a bright and chearful Day, when on a sudden there seemed a Separation to be made, and he with the far less Number to be placed at a Distance from the rest; and then the Clouds gathering, a most tempestuous Storm arose, with Thundering and Lightnings, with Spouts of impetuous Rain, and violent Gusts of Wind, and whatever else might add unto a Scene of Horror; particularly Balls of Fire that shot themselves amongst the Ranks of those that stood in the lesser Party; when a gentle Whisper seemed to interrupt those louder Noises, saying, *Be still, and ye shall receive no Harm*. Amidst these Terrors the Doctor falling to his Prayers, soon after the Tempest ceased, and that known Anthem begun, *Come, LORD JESUS, come away*; with which he awoke." The correspondent Event of all which he found verified signally in the Preserva-

tion both of himself and his Friends. Beside, being himself taken to the Choirs of Angels at the Close of that Land-Hurricane of ours, whereof that dismal Apparition was only a faint Emblem: He gave thereby too literal a Completion to his Dream, and the unhappy Credit of bordering upon Prophecy.

In this Retirement the two Doctors remained about three Weeks, 'till an Alarm was brought, that a strict Enquiry was made for Dr. *Hammond*, and 100*l.* promised as a Reward for him that should produce him: Which they concluded a necessary Ground for their Remove.

UPON this they resolve to be gone; and Dr. *Oliver* having an Interest in *Winchester*, which was then in the King's Quarters, they chose that as the next Place of their Retreat. But being on the Way thither, Dr. *Oliver* was met and saluted with the News that Dr. *Frewen*, President of *Magdalen College*, was made Bishop of *Litchfield*, and that the College had pitched upon him as Successor. This put Dr. *Oliver* to new Counsels; and since Providence had found out so seasonable a Relief, inclined him not to desert it, but to divert to *Oxford*.

To this Dr. *Hammond* made much Difficulty to assent, thinking it too far from his Living, whither he had Hopes to return; and to that Purpose had wrote to such of his Friends as were in Power: But his Letters meeting a cold Reception, he was at last persuaded, and came to *Oxford*; where procuring an Apartment in his old College, he sought that Peace in his Study, which was no where else to be met with; taking no other Diversion than

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the giving Instruction to young Students, and the Satisfaction he received from the Conversation of learned Men.

IN the Interim a Treaty being laboured by his Majesty, to compose (if it were possible) the unhappy Differences in Church and State; and in order thereunto the Duke of *Richmond* and Earl of *Southampton* being sent to *London*, Dr. *Hammond* went along as Chaplain to them; where, with great Zeal and Prudence, he laboured to undeceive those seduced Persons whom he had Opportunity to converse with: And when the Treaty was solemnly appointed at *Uxbridge*, several Divines being sent thither in Behalf of the different Parties, he, among other excellent Men that adhered to the King, was made Choice of to assist in that Employment.

HE was soon after made Canon of *Christ-Church*, and Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty. But now the King's Affairs declining every where, and *Oxford* being forced upon Articles to surrender; tho' he foresaw a second and more fatal Siege approaching, a Leaguer of encamped inevitable Mischiefs; yet he remitted Nothing of his wonted Industry.

IN the mean Time his sacred Majesty, sold by his *Scotish* into the Hands of his *English* Subjects, and brought a Prisoner to *Holdenby*, being taken from the Parliament Commissioners into the Possession of the Army, obtained that Kindness from them, the Service of some few of his Chaplains, whom he by Name had sent for, and among them of Dr. *Hammond*.

ACCORDINGLY the good Doctor attended on his Master in the several Removes of *Woburn*,

Cavesham and *Hampton-Court*, as also thence into the Isle of *Wight*, where he continued 'till *Christmas*, 1647; at which Time his Majesty's Attendants were again put from him.

SEQUESTERED from this his melancholy, but desired Employment, he returned again to *Oxford*; where being chosen Sub-Dean, an Office to which belongs much of the Government of the College, and soon after the whole, (the Dean being made a Prisoner) he undertook the entire Management of all Affairs, and discharged it with great Sufficiency and admirable Diligence, leaving his beloved Studies to interest himself not only in moderating at Divinity Disputations, but in presiding at the more youthful Exercises of Themes and Declamations; redeeming still at Night these Vacuities of the Day, scarce ever going to Bed 'till after Midnight, sometimes not 'till Three in the Morning, and yet certainly rising to Prayers at Five.

NOR did his Inspection content itself in looking to the general Performances of Duty, but descended to an accurate Survey of every one's both Practice and Ability; so that this large Society of Scholars appeared his private Family, he scarce leaving any single Person without some Mark of both his Charity and Care, relieving the Neceffitous in their several Wants of Money and of Books, shaming the Vicious to Sobriety, encouraging the Ingenuous to Diligence, and finding Stratagems to ensnare the Idle to a Love of Study. But above all, he endeavoured to prepare his Charge for the impending Persecution; that they might adorn their Profession, and not at the same Time suffer for the Cause of Righteousness, and as Evil-doers.

To this End he both admitted and solemnly invited all sober Persons to his Familiarity and Converse; and beside that, received them to his weekly private Office of Fasting and Humiliation.

BUT now the long-expected Ruin breaking in with its full Weight, the Doctor became involved in the general Calamity. And whereas the then usual Law of Expulsion was immediately to banish, enjoining to quit the Town within twenty four Hours, Dr. *Sheldon* and Dr. *Hammond* were submitted to a contrary Fate, and voted to be Prisoners in that Place, from which all else were driven. But such was the Authority of exemplary Virtue, that the Person designed to succeed in the Canonry of *Christ-Church*, though he had accepted of the Place at *London*, yet had not Courage to pursue his Undertaking, but voluntarily relinquished it. And the Officer who was commanded to take Dr. *Sheldon* and him into Custody, Col. *Evelin*, Governor of *Wallingford* Castle, (though a Man of as opposite Principles to Churchmen as any of the adverse Party) wholly declined the Employment, solemnly protesting that if they came to him, they should be entertained as Friends, and not as Prisoners.

BUT these Remorses proved of little Effect; the Prebend of *Christ-Church* being suddenly supplied by a second Choice, and *Oxford* itself being continued the Place of their Confinement.

DR. *Hammond* having continued about ten Weeks in his Restraint in *Oxford*, by the Interposition of his Brother-in-Law, Sir *John Temple* had Licence granted to be removed to a more acceptable Confinement, *Clapham* in *Bedfordshire*, the House in which his worthy Friend Sir *Philip Warwick*

wick lived. Where soon after his Arrival, that horrid Mockery of Justice, the Trial of the King drew on. After whose Death, he gave not up himself to an inactive dull Amazement, but with the redoubled Use of Fasting, Tears and solemn Prayer, resumed his wonted Studies.

ABOUT this Time, that Strength of Body which before had faithfully attended his indefatigable Mind began to fail him, and those four Torments of Disease, which single have been judged a competent Trial of human Sufferance, the Stone, the Gout, the Cholick, and the Cramp, (the last of which was to him as tyrannous as any of the former) became in a Manner the constant Exercise of his Christian Fortitude and Patience; affording Him from this Time to the End of his Life very rare and short Intervals of Health.

BUT among all his Labours, his Parænesis, a persuasive and practical Tract, cost him most Throes and Pangs of Birth, as having been penn'd first in Tears, and then in Ink. For, however, with great Serenity he entertained all other Accidents, having habituated himself to his beloved Doctrine of submitting not to the Will of GOD alone, but to his Wisdom, both which he used to say, were perfectly one Thing in that blest Agent, (and accordingly, in the most dismal Appearance he made this constant Motto, *נִסְּךְ לַיהוָה* *Even this for Good*) yet in this Instance the Tenderness of his Soul seemed to have melted his Resolution: The Occasion of that Treatise being the Interdict of *January 1655*, which disabled the loyal suffering Clergy from doing any ministerial Act, which he resented with the highest Passion, not only upon the general Account of GOD's more immediate Displeasure to the Nation legible therein, but

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(what he had much less Reason to do) in Reference to his own Particular; he looking on this Dispensation of Providence as GOD's pronouncing him unworthy to do him Service, *The Reproaching* (to use his own Words) *his former Unprofitableness by casting him out as Straw to the Dunghill.* Nor should any Consideration that terminated on himself have persuaded him at all to regard that tyrannous Injunction, had not Charity to the Family where he was made him content to admit of an Expedient that secured all real Duties, whilst he for some short Time forbore that Attendance on the Altar which was the very Joy of his Life.

AND now, though his Physicians had earnestly forbidden his accustomed Fastings, yet he resumed his Rigours, esteeming this Calamity such an one as admitted no Exception, which should not be outlived.

AND when the loyal Sufferers Abroad became subjected to the worst Effect of Banishment, and Want, the Doctor to whose diffusive Virtue the Limits of the Nation were too strait a Circle, thought this a Season to exert his Charity; accordingly, though this great Duty were solemnly declared Treason, he continued to send over several Sums for their Relief.

WHICH Practice of his, by the Surprize of the Person interested, being discovered to *Cromwell*, he was alarmed with the Expectation of that Usage which was then a certain Consequent of such meritorious Acts. But this Adventure brought No of Disturbance to the Doctor. Nay, he seemed to have gained an Opportunity of saying Something very home to him, which he purposed within himself to press to the highest Advantage: And, indeed,

deed, this was the only Issue of that threatening Accident, GOD's restraining Power interposing here, and exemplifying upon him what in others he was wont to observe, that they who least considered Hazard in the doing of their Duties fared still best.

NOR did this Danger being over, as with others in all Likelihood it would have done, persuade to caution for the future ; but with his wonted Diligence, he immediately went on in the Pursuit of his Charity.

HE was enterprising a Comment on the Old Testament, and begun on the Book of *Proverbs*, and finished the third Part of it : But the Completion of this, and all his other great Intendments, received here a full Period, it pleasing the Divine Providence now to take him to Himself.

THE Reader will not be disobliged, if we a While divert from this sadder Part of the Narrative, and entertain him with a Survey of the personal Accomplishments of the Doctor.

THE Frame of his Body was such as suited with the noble Use to which it was designed, the entertaining a most pure and active Soul, but equally to the Advantages of Strength and Comeliness. His Stature was of just Height and Proportion, avoiding the Extremes of gross and meagre, advantaged by a graceful Carriage, at once most grave, and yet as much obliging. His Face carried Dignity and Attractiveness in it, scarce ever clouded with a Frown, or so much as darkened by Reservedness. His Eye was quick and sprightly, his Complexion clear and florid, so that (especially

in his Youth) he had the Esteem of a very beautiful Person.

To this outward Structure was joined that Strength of Constitution, patient of severest Toil and Hardship; insomuch that for the most Part of his Life, in the fiercest Extremity of Cold, he took no other Advantage of a Fire, then at the greatest Distance he could to look upon it. As to Diseases ('till immoderate Study had wrought a Change) he was in a Manner only liable to Fevers, which too constant a Temperance did in a great Measure prevent, and still assisted to relieve and cure.

NEXT to his Frame of Body, if we survey his inward Faculties, we shall find them just to the Promises of his outward Shape. His Sight was quick to an unusual Degree; insomuch, that if by Chance he saw a Knot of Men, a Flock of Sheep, or Herd of Cattle, being engaged in Discourse, and not at all thinking of it, he would involuntarily cast up their Number, which others after long Delays could hardly reckon. His Ear was accurate and tuned to his harmonious Soul, so that having never learned to sing by Book or Study, he would exactly perform his Part of many Things to a Harpsichord or Theorbo; and frequently did so in his more vigorous Years after the Toil and Labour of the Day, and before the remaining Studies of the Night. His Elocution was free and graceful, prepared at once to charm and to command his Audience: And when, with Preaching at his Country-charge, he had in some Degree, lost the due Manage of his Voice, his late sacred Majesty, by taking Notice of the Change, became his Master of Musick, and reduced him to his ancient decent Modulation; a Kind-

Kindness which the Doctor very gratefully acknowledged to his dying Day, and reported not only as an Instance of the meek and tender Condescensions of that gracious Prince, but improved to persuade others by so great an Example to that most friendly Office of telling Persons of their Faults, without which, very commonly, Men must be so far from amending their Errors, that it is morally impossible they should know them.

As to his more inferior Faculties, we must allow the first Place to his Invention, an altogether unexhausted Treasure, whose Flowings were with that full Torrent, that for several Years, after his Choice of Subject, which generally he had in Prospect beforehand, a little Meditation on the *Saturday* Night made up his Sermon: But in the last twelve Years of his Life, finding the Recollection of his Thoughts disturb his Sleep, he remitted the particular Care of the Composition and Method of his future Discourse to the *Sunday* Morning, wherein an Hour's Consideration fitted him to the Office of the Day. With the like Swiftneſs he dispatched his Writings, usually composing faster than his Amnuensis, though a very dextrous Person, could transcribe after him. His *Considerations of present Necessity concerning Episcopacy*, were drawn up after Ten o'Clock at Night in a Friend's Chamber, who professes, that sitting by all the While, he remembers not that he took off Pen from Paper 'till he had done; and the very next Morning, it being fully approved by the Bishop of *Salisbury*, he sent it to the Press; to which Work he could have no Premeditation or second Thoughts, he being that very Night after Supper employed by the before-mentioned Bishop of *Salisbury*, on that Task. So likewise he began his Tract of Scandal at Eleven at Night, and finished it before he
went

to Bed. Nor was this an extraordinary Thing with him, but most customary; five Sheets having amidst his other Diversions been sundry Times his one Day's Work; adding to it so much of the Night as frequently borrowed from Sleep and Supper. And indeed such were his Diversions, so many and so importunate, that notwithstanding this incredible Ease of Writing, it is hardly imaginable how he could compass the Tythe of what he did. For he that shall consider his laborious Way, immerst in almost infinite Quotations.

His Perusal of the Writings of his Friends and Strangers intended to be publick; his Review of his own Works, and correcting them with his own Hand, Sheet by Sheet, as they came forth, which he did to all his later Tracts; his Reception of Visits, whether of Civility, or for Resolution of Conscience, or Information in Points of Difficulty, which were numerous, and great Devourers of his Time; his Agency for Men of Quality, providing them Schoolmasters for their Children, and Chaplains in their Houses, in which Affair he had set up a Kind of Office of Address; his general Correspondencies by Letter, ever took up two Days of the Week entirely; the Time exhausted by his Sickness, which in the latter Years of his Life, gave him but short and seldom Truce, and always made it necessary for him not to stir from his Chair, or so much as read a Letter for two Hours after every Meal; his not only constant Preaching and instructing the Family where he was, and his visiting the Sick both there and in the Neighbourhood, but amidst all, his sure Returns of Prayer, so frequent and so constant as certainly to challenge to themselves a great Portion of the Day: He, I say, that shall sum up this, the Particulars whereof are nakedly set down, must

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be to seek what Point of vacant Time remained yet undisposed ; I do not say to write Books, but even to breathe and rest a little in.

AFTER a serious Reflection on the Premises, the Account given by that excellent Person, who had the Happiness of being the nearest and most constant Witness of all, seems the best that can be made ; that he gained Time for his writing Books by the Time he spent in Prayer, whilst, (a more then extraordinary Assistance attending his Devotions) his Closet proved his Library, and he studied most upon his Knees.

As to his Memory, it was serviceable, but not officious ; faithful to Things and Business, but unwillingly retaining the Contexture and Punctualities of Words ; which Defect he frequently lamented, it being harder with him to get one Sermon by Heart than to pen twenty.

HIS Way of Speech and Faculty of communicating Notions was sufficiently happy, having only this best Kind of Defect, Exuberance, the Torrent of his Matter being not easily confined by Periods ; whereby his Style, though round and comprehensive, was encumbered Sometimes by Parentheses, and became difficult to vulgar Understandings : But by the Use of Writings, and his Desire to accommodate himself to all Capacities, he in his latter Years had mastered that Defect.

HIS Judgment, as in itself the highest Faculty, so was it the most eminent among his natural Endowments : For though the finding out the Similitudes of different Things, wherein the Fancy is conversant, is usually a Bar to the discerning the Disparities of similar Appearances, which is the Busi-

Business of Discretion : He had, to his sufficient Memory and incomparable Invention, a clear discerning Judgment ; and that not only in scholastick Affairs and Points of Learning, which his Writings manifest beyond Dispute ; but in the Concerns of publick Nature, both of Church and State.

As to acquired Learning, there remains only to observe, that the Range and Compass of his Knowledge filled the whole Circle of the Arts, and reached those severals which single do exact an entire Man unto themselves. To be accurate in the Grammar and Idioms of Tongues, and then as a Rhetorician to make all their Graces serve his Eloquence ; to have traversed ancient, and yet be no Stranger in modern Writers ; to be studied in in Philosophy, and familiarly versed in all the Classick Authors ; to be learned in School-divinity, and a Master in Church-antiquity, perfect and ready in the Sense of Fathers, Councils, Ecclesiastical Historians and Liturgicks ; to have devoured so much and yet digested it, is a Rarity in Nature and in Diligence, which has but few Examples.

BUT after all we must take Leave to say, that the Doctor's Learning was the least Thing in him ; the Scholar was less eminent than the Christian : His speculative Knowledge, that gave Light to the most difficult Proposals, became eclipsed by the most dazzling Lustre of his Practice.

AND first, his chaste Thoughts, Words and Carriage so disciplined his lower Faculties, as not only restrained through all the Heats of Youth, made more than usually importunate by the full Vigour of a high and sanguine Constitution, but gave a Detestation of all those verbal Follies, that

have not only the Allowance of being harmless Mirth, but the Repute of Wit and Gaiety of Humour: So that the scurrilous Jest could sooner obtain his Tears in Penance for it, than the Approbation of a Smile; and all Approaches to this Sin he looked upon not only with an utter Disallowance in his Will, but a Kind of natural Abhorrence.

HIS Appetite was good, but the Restraint of it was very eminent and extraordinary; for his Diet was of the plainest Meats, and commonly not only his Dishes, but the Parts of them were such as most others would refuse. Sauces he scarce ever tasted of, but often expressed it his Wonder "how rational Creatures should eat for any Thing but Health, since he that did eat or drink that which might cause a Fit of the Stone or Gout, though a Year after, therein unman'd himself, and acted as a Beast." So that his Self-denials were quite contrary to the usual ones; for considering the Time lost in Eating, and the Vacancy succeeding it, his Meals were the greatest Pressure, and his Fasting-day the most sensual Part of his Week.

IN the Time of his full and more vigorous Health he seldom did eat or drink more than once in twenty-four Hours, and some Fruit towards Night; and two Days in every Week, and in Lent and Ember-week three Days, he eat but once in thirty-six. Nor did he ever with so much Regret submit to any Prescript, as when his Physicians, after his great Fever in *Oxford*, required him to eat Suppers. Which Injunction he soon shook off, and returned to his beloved Abstinence, until renewed Infirmities brought him back unto the Penance of more Indulgence to himself.

As he had the greatest Indifference to what he eat, so had he the greatest Observation too, especially when it came to be made Point of Prescription; for in this Case he was most exact, never tasting of any prohibited Meats, though some of them had before the Advantage of being customary towards their seeming necessary. And herein his Palate was so tractable and subdued to the Dictates of an higher Choice, that he really Thought no Meat pleasant, but in Proportion to its Wholesomeness: Even his beloved Apples he would oft say he would totally abandon, as soon as they should appear to be no more than barely innocent, and not of Use.

THE carving at the Table he always made his Province, which he said he did as a Diversion to keep him from eating too much; but certainly that Practice had another more immediate Cause, a natural Distributiveness of Humour, and a Desire to be employed in the Relief of every Kind of Want of every Person.

HIS Temperance in Sleep resembled that of his Meats, Midnight being the usual Time of his going to Rest, and Four or Five, and very rarely Six, the Hour of his Rising. There was scarce any Thing he resented so much in his multiplied Diseases as their having abridged him of his Night-studies, professing thereby he lost not only his greatest Pleasure, but highest Advantage in Reference to Business. And in his later Time of Weakness, when to take Benefit of a gentle breathing Sweat, which usually came in the Morning, he had been engaged by his Physician to continue in Bed 'till it was over; and upon Complaint of Costiveness he was on the other Side directed to rise somewhat early in the Morning; this later In-

junction he looked upon as a mere Rescue and Deliverance, often mentioning it with Thanks, as if it had been an eminent Favour done him.

HIS Disposal of himself in the other Parts of Time, was to perpetual Industry and Diligence: He not only avoided, but bore a perfect Hate to Idleness, and scarcely recommended any Thing with that Concern and Vigour, as to be furnished always with Somewhat to do. This he proposed as the best Expedient both for Innocence and Pleasure; assuring, that "no Burthen is more heavy or Temptation more dangerous, than to have Time lie on one's Hand; the idle Man's Brain being not only (as he worded it) the Devil's Shop, but his Kingdom too, a Model of an Appendage unto Hell, a Place given up to Torment and to Mischief."

BESIDES those Portions of Time which the Necessities of Nature and of civil Life extorted from him, there was not a Minute of the Day which he left vacant. When he walked abroad, which he did not so much to recreate himself, as to obey his Physician, he never failed to take a Book with him, and read all the While; and in his Chamber also he had one lay constantly open, out of which his Servant read to him while he was dressing and undressing; by which one Piece of Husbandry in short Space he dispatched several considerable Volumes.

HIS Way was still to cast into Paper all his Observations, and direct them to his present Purposes; wherein he had an incredible Dexterity, scarce ever reading any Thing which he did not make subservient in one Kind or other. In his Sickneses, if they were not so violent to make the
Recollection

Recollection of Thoughts impossible, he never intermitted Study, but rather reinforced it than as the most proper Diversion of Pain. The Gout by its most frequent and importunate Returns exceeded his other Maladies; in which although the first most furious Assaults were sure to beat him from his Study, and for a Time confine him to his Bed, yet as soon as he had recovered his Chair, he resumed his Pen too, and applied it as hard as though he had ailed Nothing.

NEXT to downright Idleness he disliked slow and dilatory Undertakings, thinking it a great Folly to spend that Time in gazing upon Business which should have served for the doing of it. In his own Practice he never considered longer than 'till he could discern whether the Thing proposed was fit or not; when that was seen, he immediately set to Work. When he had perfected one Business, he could not endure to have his Thoughts lie fallow, but was presently consulting what next to set about.

BUT when we reckon up the Expences of the Doctor's Time, we cannot pass his constant Tribute of it paid by him to Heaven in the Offices of Prayer; which took up so liberal Proportions of each Day unto it's Self for the ten last Years of his Life, and probably the preceding. Besides occasional and supernumerary Addresses, his certain perpetual Returns exceeded *David's* seven Times a-Day. As soon as he was ready (which was usually early) he prayed in his Chamber with his Servant. After this he retired to his own more secret Devotions. Betwixt Ten and Eleven in the Morning, he had solemn Intercession in Reference to the national Calamities: To this, after a little Distance, succeeded the Morning Office

fice of the Church which he particularly desired to perform in his own Person, and would by no Means accept the Ease of having it read by any other. In the Afternoon he had another Hour of private Prayer, which on Sundays he enlarged, and so religiously observed, that if any necessary Business or Charity had diverted him at the usual Time, he repaired his Soul at the Cost of his Body; and, notwithstanding the Injunctions of his Physicians, which in other Cases he was careful to obey, spent the Supper-time therein. About Five o' Clock, the solemn private Prayers for the Nation and the Evening Service of the Church returned. At Bed-time his private Prayers closed the Day; and after all even the Night was not without its Office, the fifty-first *Psalms* being his designed Midnight Entertainment.

IN his Prayers, as his Attention was fixed and steady, so was it inflamed with passionate Fervours, insomuch that very frequently his Transport threw him prostrate on the Earth; his Tears also would interrupt his Words; the latter happening not only upon the Exigencies of present or impending Judgments, but in the common Service of the Church; which shews it is the Coldness of the Votary, and not the Prayer, that is in Fault, when Fervour is deficient at the publick Office of the Church.

THE Charity and Extent of his Prayers was as exuberant as the Zeal and Fervour: He thought it very unreasonable that our Intercessions should not be as universal as our Saviour's Redemption was; and would complain of that Narrowness of Mind to which we are so prone, confining our Care either to Ourselves and Relatives, or at most to those little Corners of the World that most immediately

immediately concerned us, and which on due Account bear very low Proportions to the whole. There was no emergent Distress, however remote, but it enlarged his Litany; every Year's Harvest and new Birth of Mischiefs, was transcribed into pathetic Office of Devotion.

NOR did he only take to Heart general national Concernments, but even the more private Exigencies of the Sick and Weak. Among all which none had so liberal a Part in his Prayers as they that merited them least, yet wanted them most; his and (what was usually the same Thing) the Church's and GOD's Enemies. He never thought he had assured his Forgiveness of Injuries, unless he returned Good for them; and though other Opportunities of this best Kind of Retaliation might fail him, that of his Intercessions never did.

THREE Persons there were who above all Men, by unworthy Malice and impotent Virulence had highly disobliged him; but he in Recompence of their Guilt, had a peculiar daily Prayer purposely in their Behalf; and though in the Openness of his Conversation with his most intimate Acquaintance he confessed thus much, yet he never named the Persons, though probably that was the only Thing which he concealed; it being his Method to with-hold Nothing, especially of Confidence or Privacy, from one he owned as Friend.

AND having mentioned the Name of Friend, however incidentally, we must not leave it without Homage; Friendship being the next sacred Thing unto Religion in the Apprehensions of our excellent Doctor, a Virtue of which he was a passionate Lover, and with which he ever seemed
to

to have contracted Friendship. The Union of Minds thereby produced, he judged, the utmost Point of human Happiness: So that with Compassion he reflected on their Ignorance who were Strangers to it, saying, that "such must needs lead a pitiful, insipid Herb-John-like Life."

UPON this Ground he used with all industrious Art to recommend and propagate Friendship unto others; and where he saw several Persons that he judged capable of being made acquainted to mutual Advantage, he would contrive that Leave; and where himself had Kindness unto any so allied, he would still enjoin them to be kinder to each other than to him; besides, he still laboured to make all his Friends endeared to each of them; resolving it to be an Error bottomed on the common Narrowness of Soul which represented Amity like sensual Love, confined unto two Persons.

WHEN he ever happened to see or be in Company with such as had an intimate hearty Kindness for each other, he would be much transported in the Contemplation of it, and where it was seasonable, would openly acknowledge his Satisfaction.

IN the Number of his Friends there chanced to be three Persons, who having in their Youth contracted a strict Intimacy, had undertaken the same Profession; and accordingly had the same common Studies and Designs; and with these the Opportunity thro' the late Troubles to live in View of each other: Whom for that Reason he was used with an obliging Envy to pronounce the most happy Men the Nation had.

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ACCORDINGLY he profest, that for his Particular, he had no such Way of enjoying any Thing as by Reflection from the Person whom he loved; so that his Friends being happy was the readiest Way to make him so. Therefore when one eminently near him in that Relation was careless of Health, his most pressing Argument was his Complaint of Unkindness to him. And this Way of measuring Felicities was so natural to him, that it would occur even in the most trivial Instances: When there has been any Thing at the Table peculiarly wholesome in Relation to his Infirmities, if his Friend, who was in a like weak Condition, forbore to eat it in Civility to him, he would with Vehemence of Grief resent it as his singular Unhappiness, after so many Professions, not to be believed, that he had a thousand Times rather that his Friend should have that which was conducive to Health, than himself; and then assumed, that if this were believed, it were impossible any one should attempt to express Kindness by robbing him of his greatest Pleasure.

THE principal Thing he contracted for in Friendship was a free Use of mutual Admonition; which he confined not to the grosser Guilts which Enemies and common Fame were likely to observe, but extended it to prudential Failings, Indecencies, and even suspicious and barely doubtful Actions; nay beyond that, unto those virtuous ones which might have been improved and rendered better. He was used to say, "It was a poor Design of Friendship to keep the Person he admitted to his Breast only from being scandalous, as if the Physician should endeavour only to secure his Patient from the Plague." And what he thus articulated for, he punctually himself perform'd, and exacted to be returned unto himself.

AND

AND if for any While he observed that no Remembrance had been offered to him, he grew almost jealous, suspecting that the Courtier had supplanted the Friend, and therefore earnestly enforced the Obligation of being faithful in this Point: And when with much ado something was picked up, he received it always as huge Kindness; and tho' the whole Ground of it happened to be Mistake, yet he still returned most affectionate Thanks.

HIS Good-will, when placed on any, was so fixed and rooted, that even supervening Vice, to which he had the greatest Detestation imaginable, could not easily remove it, the Abhorrence of their Guilts leaving not only a Charity but Tenderness to their Persons; and, as he has professed, his Concern rather increased than lessened by this Means, Compassion being in that Instance added to Love.

THERE were but two Things which (he would say) were apt to give Check to his Affections, *Pride* and *Falseness*; where he saw these predominant, he thought he could never be a Friend to any Purpose, because he could never hope to do any Good; yet even there he would use Prayer, the more the less he could do besides. But where he saw an honest Temper, a *Jacob's* plain Simplicity, Nothing could discourage him; and however Inadvertency or Passion, or haply some worse Ingredient, might frustrate his Design, he would attend the *mollia tempora*, those gentle and more treatable Opportunities which might at last be offer'd. He so much abhorred Artifice and Cunning, that he had Prejudice to all Concealments and Pretensions. He used to say he hated a *Non-causa*, and he had a strange Sagacity in discover-
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ing it. When any with much Circumlocution had endeavoured to shadow their main Purpose, he would immediately look thro' all those Mists, and where it was in any Degree seasonable, would make it appear he did so: His Charity of fraternal Correetion having only this Restraint, the Hearer's Interest, of which he judg'd, that when Advice did not do Good, it was hardly separable from doing Harm. But wheresoever he gave an Admonition, he prefaced it always with such Demonstrations of Tenderness and Good-will as could not fail to convince of the Kindness with which it was sent, if not of the Convenience or Necessity to embrace it. And this he gave as a general Rule, and enforced by his Example, *Never to reprove in Anger*, or with the least Appearance of it. If the Passion were real, that was evidently a Fault, and the guilty Person unfit to be a Judge: If it were Resemblance only, yet even that would probably divert the Offender from the Consideration of his Failing, to fasten on his Monitor; and make him think he was chid, not because he was in Fault, but because the other was angry.

THO' his Exhortations had as much Weight as Words could give them, he had over and above a great Advantage in his Manner of Speaking: His little Phrase, *Don't be simple*, had more Power to charm a Passion, than long Harangues from others; and very many who loved not Piety in itself, would be well pleased to be advised by him, and venerated the same Matter in his Language, which they derided in others.

HE would say, "he delighted to be loved, not reverenc'd;" thinking that where there was much of the latter, there could not be enough of the former; Somewhat of Restraint and Distance attending

tending on the one, which was not well consistent with the Freedom of the other. But as he was no Friend to ceremonious Respect, he was an open Enemy to Flattery, especially from a Friend, from whom he started at the slightest Appearance of that servile Kindness.

HAVING, upon Occasion, communicated a Purpose against which there happened to lie some Objections, they being by a Friend of his represented to him, he immediately was convinced, and assumed other Counsels. But in Process of Discourse Something fell in that brought to Mind a Passage of a late Sermon of the Doctor's, which that Person having been affected with, innocently mentioned such Apprehensions of it, and so passed on to talk of other Matters. The next Day the Doctor having recollected that probably the Approbation given to the Sermon might be an After-design to allay the Plain-dealing which preceded it, protested, "that Nothing in the World could more deeply disoblige him, than such Unfaithfulness." But being assured there was no such Contrivance meant, he gladly yielded himself to have been mistaken.

IN other Cases he was no Way inclinable to entertain Doubts of his Friends Kindness: But if any Thing chanced to intervene, and cause Misapprehensions, he gave them not Leave to take Root by Concealment, but immediately produced his Ground of Jealousy; and exacted the like Measure back again, if his own Proceedings fell at any Time under a doubtful or unkind Appearance. This he thought a Justice essential to Friendship, without which it could not possibly subsist: For we think not fit to condemn the most notorious Malefactor before he hath had Licence

to propose his Plea ; and sure it is strangely barbarous to treat a Friend, or rather Friendship itself, with less Regard.

To the Performances of Friendship he hated all mercenary Returns, whereof he was so jealous, as hardly to leave Place for Gratitude. " Love, he said, was built upon the Union and Similitude of Minds, and not the Bribery of Gifts and Benefits."

MISERY and Want, wherever he met with them, sufficiently endeared the Object. His Alms was as exuberant as his Love ; and in Calamities to the Exigence he never was a Stranger, whatever he might be to the Man that suffer'd.

AND here the first Preparative was to leave himself no Motive to resist or slight the Opportunities of Giving ; which he compassed by being a Steward to himself as well as to God, and parting still with a set Portion of his Estate, that when he relieved any, he might become no Whit the poorer by his Gift, have only the Content of Giving, and the Ease of being rid of another's Money. What he thus devoted was the Tenth of all his Income ; wherein he was so strictly punctual, that commonly the first Thing he did was to compute and separate the poor Man's Share. To this he added every Week five Shillings, which had been his lowest Proportion in the Heat of the War in Oxford, when he lived upon his *Pensehurst* Stock, and no visible Means or almost Possibility of Supply. Over and above this he compleated the Devotions of his weekly Fast by joining Alms thereto, and adding twenty Shillings to the poor Man's Heap.

THESE were his Debts to Charity, the fixed Revenue of the Indigent; in the Dispensation of which he was so religiously careful, that if at any Time he happened to be in Doubt whether he had set apart his charitable Proportions, he always passed Sentence against himself. But beyond these he had his Free-will Offerings, and those proportioned more by the Occasion of Giving, than the Surplusage he had to give. His poor Man's Bag had so many Mouths, that it frequently became quite empty: But its being so, never diverted him from relieving any that appeared in Need; for in such Seasons he chose to give in more liberal Proportions than at others.

INSTEAD of hiding his Face from the Poor, it was his Practice still to seek for theirs. Those Persons whom he trusted with (his greatest Secret and greatest Business) his Charity, seldom had Recourse to him, but he would make Enquiry for new Pensioners: And tho' he had in several Parts of the Nation those whom he employed to find out indigent Persons, and dispose his Largesse to them, his covetous Bounty still grasped for more.

BESIDES his ordinary Provision for the neighbouring Poor, and those that came to look him out in his Retirement, (which were not few, for the liberal Man dwells always in the Road) his Catalogue had an especial Place for sequestered Divines, their Wives and Orphans, for young Students in the Universities, and those Divines that were abroad in Banishment: Where over and above his frequent occasional Reliefs to the last of these, the exiled Clergy, besides what he procured from others, he sent constantly over Year by Year a very considerable Sum, such a one as Men of far greater Revenues do not use upon

upon any Occasion to give away, much less as a troublesome Excrecence every Year prune off from their Estates.

To a Friend, who by the Falseness of one whom he trusted was reduced to some Extremity, and enquired what Course he took to escape such Usage, the Doctor wrote as follows:

TO your Doubt concerning myself, I thank God I am able to answer you, that I never suffered in my Life for Want of Hand or Seal, but think I have fared much better than they that have always been careful to secure themselves by these Cautions. I remember I was wont to reproach an honest Fellow-Prebend of mine, that whensoever a Siege was near, always sent away what he most valued to some other Garrison or Friend, and seldom ever met with any Thing again: Whereas I venturing myself and my Cabinet in the same Bottom, never lost any Thing. And the like I have practised in this other Instance. Whom I trusted to be my Friend, all I had was in his Power, and by GOD's Blessing I was never deceived in my Trust.

AND here amidst all these seeming Impossibilities Riches thrust themselves upon him: It pleasing GOD, since he had exemplified the Advices of his *Practical Catechism* to the Duties of Alms and charitable Distributions, in him also to make good the Assurance he there made in the Behalf of GOD upon such Performance. Nor was he the single Instance of this Truth. About four Years since a Person of good Estate coming to see the Doctor, among other Discourse happened to speak of the late Dean of *Worcester*, Dr. Potter: This Gentleman related, that formerly enquiring of the Dean how it was possible for one that had so great a

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Charge of Children, was so hospitable in his Entertainment, and profuse in Liberality, not only to subsist, but to grow rich; he answered, that several Years before he happened to be present at a Sermon at *St. Paul's Cross*, where the Preacher recommending the Duty of plentiful Giving, assured his Auditory that *that* was the certain Way to compass Riches: He moved therewith, resolved diligently to follow the Counsel, and expect the Issue; which was such as now created so much Wonder. At that Time when this was telling, the Doctor's Sermon of the *The Poor Man's Tything*, was just come out. He therefore willing to improve the Opportunity, confessed that he himself was that Preacher which Dr. *Potter* referred to, and that there was the very Sermon; which immediately giving to this Visitant, he desired Almighty God it might have the like Effect on him.

As to the Way and very Manner of his Charity, even that was a Part of it. One great Care of his was to dispose of his Reliefs so as to be most seasonable; to which Purpose he had his Agents still employed to give him punctual Notice of Occurrents in their several Stations. His next Endeavour was to dispense them so as to be most endearing. To Persons of Quality he consulted to relieve their Modesty as well as Needs; taking Order they should rather find than receive Alms; and knowing they were provided for, should not guess by what Means they were so. To those who were assisted immediately from his Hand, he over and above bestowed the Charities of hearty Kindness; in the Expression of which he was not only assisted by his Humility, but much more by the Pleasure which the very Act of Giving transfused into him.

ANOTHER Circumstance in the Doctor's Liberality not to be passed over was, his Choice of what he gave; his Care that it should not be of Things vile and refuse, but of the very best he had. It happened that a Servant in the Family being troubled with the Gout, the Doctor gave Order that he should have some of the Plaister which he used in the like Extremity: But the Store of that being almost spent, the Person entrusted with this Office gave of another Sort, which was of somewhat less Reputation. Which Practice the Doctor within a While coming to know, was extremely troubled at it, and complained of that unseasonable Kindness to him, which disregarded the pressing Wants of another, and thereby gave him a Disquiet parallel to that which a Fit of the Gout would have done.

BUT besides this of Giving, the Alms of Lending had an eminent Place in the Practice of the Doctor. When he saw a Man honest and industrious, he would trust him with a Sum, and let him pay it again at such Times, and in such Proportions, as he found himself able: Withal when he did so, he would add his Counsel too, examine the Person's Condition, and contrive with him how the present Sum might be most advantageously disposed; still closing the Discourse with Prayer for God's Blessing, and after that dismissing him with infinite Affability and Kindness. In which Performance, as he was exuberant to all, so most especially to such as were of an inferior Degree; giving this for a Rule to those of his Friends that were of Estate and Quality, to "treat their poor Neighbours with such a Cheerfulness, that they may be glad to have met with them." And as upon the Grounds of Humanity he never suffered any Body to wait that came to speak with him, tho' upon a mere Visit, but broke off his beloved Studies; so with a more

exceeding Alacrity he came down when a poor Body would speak with him. Such of all others he loved not to delay; and so much he desired that others should do the same, that when the Lady of the House, diverted either by his Discourse, or some other Occasion, delayed the Clients of her Charity in Alms, or that other most commendable one in Surgery, he in his friendly Way would chide her out of the Room.

As Poverty thus recommended to the Doctor's Kindness, in an especial Manner it did so when Piety was added to it: Upon which Score a mean Person in the Neighbourhood, one *Houfeman*, a Weaver by Trade, but by Weakness unable to follow any Employment, was extremely his Favourite. Him he used with a most affectionate Freedom, gave him several of his Books, and examined his Progress in them; invited him, nay importuned him, still to come to him for whatever he needed, and at his Death left him ten Pounds. A little before which, he and the Lady *P*— being walking, *Houfeman* happened to come by, to whom after the Doctor had talked a While, he let him pass; yet soon after called him with these Words, "*Houfeman*, if it should please God that I should be taken from this Place, let me make a Bargain between my Lady and you, that you be sure to come to her with the same Freedom you would to me for any Thing you want."

NOR will this Treatment from the Doctor seem any Thing strange to them that shall consider how low a Rate he put upon those usual Distinctions, Birth or Riches, and withal how high a Value on the Souls of Men; for them he had so unmanageable a Passion, that it often broke out into Words of this Effect; "O what a glorious Thing, how rich

rich a Prize for the Expence of a Man's whole Life, were it to be the Instrument of rescuing one Soul?" Accordingly in the Pursuit of this Design he not only wasted himself in perpetual Toil of Study, but most diligently attended the Offices of his Calling, and that many Times when he was in so ill a Condition of Health, that all besides himself thought it impossible, at least very unfit, for him to do it. His Subjects were such as had greatest Influence, which he pressed with most affectionate Tenderness, making Tears Part of his Oratory. And if he observed his Sermons to have failed of the desired Effect, it was Matter of great Sadness to him; where instead of accusing the Parties concerned, he charged himself that his Performances were incompetent, and would solicitously enquire what he might do to speak more plainly or more movingly; and whether his extemporary Wording might not be a Defect?

BESIDES this, he liberally dispensed all other spiritual Aids: From the Time that the Children of the Family became capable of it, 'till his Death, he made it a Part of his daily Business to instruct them, allotting the Interval betwixt Prayers and Dinner to that Work, observing diligently the little Deviations of their Manners, and applying Remedies unto them. In like Sort, that he might ensnare the Servants also to their Benefit, on Sundays in the Afternoon he catechised the Children in his Chamber, giving Liberty, nay Invitation, to as many as would to come and hear, hoping they might admit the Truths obliquely levelled, which Bashfulness persuaded not to enquire for, lest they thereby should own the Fault of former Inadvertence. Besides, he publicly declared himself ready and desirous to assist any Person single, and to that Purpose having particularly invited such

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to come at their leisure Hours, when any did so, he used all Arts of Encouragement and obliging Condescension; insomuch that having once got the Scullion in his Chamber upon that Errand, he would not give him the Uneasiness of standing, but made him sit down by his Side: Though in other Cases, amidst his infinite Humility, he knew well how to assert the Dignity of his Place and Function.

UPON this Ground of ardent Love to Souls, a very disconsolate and almost desponding Person happening some Years since to come to him to unload the Burden of his Mind, he kept him privately in his Chamber for several Days, answering every Scruple which that unhappy Temper of Mind suggested, and with unwearied Patience attending for those little Arguments which in him were much more easily silenced than satisfied. This Practice continued 'till he at last discovered his Impressions had the desired Effect, which proceeded carefully in this Method, that Duty still preceded Promise, and strict Endeavour made Way for Comfort.

ON the same Motive, when some Years since a young Man, (who by the Encouragement of an Uncle, formerly the Head of an House in Oxford, had been bred up to Learning, but by his Ejection was diverted from that Course to a Country Life, and being so, was also married and had Children) amidst his Avocations continued to employ his vacant Hours in Study, and happening on some of the Doctor's Writings, was so affected with them, as to leave his Wife, and Family, and Employment, to seek out the Doctor himself; the Doctor met this unknown romantick Undertaker with his accustomed Kindness, and most readily received

received him into his Care for several Years, affording him all Assistance both in Studies and temporal Support, 'till he at last arrived at good Proficiency in Knowledge, and is at present a very useful Person in the Church.

NOR could this Zeal to the eternal Interest of Souls be superseded by any Sight of Danger. The last Year one in the Neighbourhood mortally sick of the Small Pox desiring the Doctor to come to him, as soon as he heard of it, though the Disease did then prove more than usually fatal, and the Doctor's Age and Complexion threatened it particularly so to him, he stayed only so long as to be satisfied whether the Party was so sensible that a Visit might be of Use, and then chearfully went, telling the Person that happened to be present, that "he should be as much in God's Hands in the sick Man's Chamber as in his own." And not content with going once, appointed the next Day to have returned again; which he had done, had not the Patient's Death absolved him of his Promise.

BUT though to advance the spiritual Concerns of all was his unlimited Design and Endeavour, yet to nourish and advance the early Virtue of young Persons was his more chosen Study: When he saw such an one, he would contrive Ways to insinuate and endear himself, lay Hold of every Opportunity to represent the Beauty, Pleasure and Advantage of a pious Life; and on the other Side the Toil, the Danger and the Mischief of brutal Sensuality: Withal he would be still performing Courtesies, thereby to oblige of very Gratitude to him, Obedience and Duty to God.

AND

AND as the Doctor laboured in the Rescue of single Persons, he had an Eye therein to Multitudes; for wherever he had planted the Seeds of Piety, he presently cast about to propagate them thereby to others; engaging all his Converts "not to be ashamed of Religion, but own the seducing Men to God with as much Confidence as others use when they are Factors for the Devil; and instead of lying on the defensive Part, he gave in Charge to chuse the other of the Assailant." This Method he commended "not only as the greatest Service to our Neighbour, but as the greatest Security to ourselves; it being like the not expecting a War at Home, but carrying it Abroad into the Enemies Country. And Nothing in the Christian's Warfare he judged so dangerous as a Truce, and the Cessation of Hostility." And whereas young People are used to varnish their Forbearance of good Actions by a Pretence to Humility, saying, they are ashamed to do this or that, as not being able to do it well, he assured them "this was ar-rant Pride, and Nothing else."

HIS Meekness to those that slighted him, and disparaged his Abilities, was almost incredible. As he was never angry with his pertinacious Dissenters for not being of his Mind; no more was he in the least with his scornful Opposites. Such was the habitual Mastery he had gained over himself, that the strictest Considerers of his Actions have not in ten Years perpetual Conversation seen his Passion betray him to an indecent Speech.

NOR was his Sufferance of other Kinds less exemplary than that he evidenced in the Reception of Calumny and Reproach: For though Pain were that to which he was used to say he was of all Things

Things most a Coward, yet being under it he shewed an eminent Constancy and perfect Resignation.

AT the Approach of Sickneſs his first Consideration was, "what Failing had provoked the present Chastisement," and to that Purpose he made his earnest Prayer to GOD (and enjoined his Friends to do the like) "to convince him of it; nor only so, but tear and rend away, though by the greatest Violence and sharpest Discipline, whatever was displeasing in his Eyes, and grant not only Patience, but Fruitfulness under the Rod." Then by repeated Acts of Submission would he deliver himself up into GOD's Hands to do with him as seemed Him good; amidst the sharpest Pains meekly invoking Him, and saying, GOD's *holy Will be done*. And even then when on the Rack of Torture, would be observing every Circumstance of Allay: When it was the Gout, he would give Thanks it was not the Stone or Cramp; when it was the Stone, he would say it was not so sharp as others felt, accusing his Impatience that it appeared so bad to him as it did. And when some Degree of Health was given, he exerted all his Strength in a Return of Thanks to the Author of it, which he performed with most chearful Piety, frequently reflecting on the Psalmist's Phrase, *that it was a joyful Thing to be thankful*.

HE was a most diligent Observer of every Blessing he received, and had them still in Readiness to confront with those Pressures he at any Time lay under. In the Intermiſſions of his importunate Maladies he would with full Acknowledgement mention the great Indulgence, that he "who had in his Constitution the Cause of so much Pain still

dwelling with him, should yet by GOD's immediate interposing be rescued from the Effect."

To facilitate yet more this his Serenity and Calm of Mind, he laid this Rule before him, "Never to trouble himself with future Events, being resolved of our Saviour's Maxim, that *sufficient to the Day is the Evil thereof*; and that it were the greatest Folly in the World to perplex one's Self with that which perchance will never come, but if it should, then GOD who sent it will dispose it to the best, most certainly to his Glory, which should satisfy us; and, unless it be our Fault, as certainly to our Good, which, if we be not strangely unreasonable, must satisfy in Reference to ourselves. Besides all this, in the very Dispensation GOD will not fail to give such Allay as (like the cool Gales under the Line) will make the greatest Heats of Suffering very supportable." In such Occasions he usually subjoined *Epictetus's* Dilemma, "Either the Thing before us is in our Power, or it is not; if it be, let us apply the Remedy, and there will be no Motive for Complaint; if it be not, the Grief is utterly impertinent, since it can do no Good." From the same Author he annexed this Consideration, "That every Thing has two Handles; if the one prove hot, and not to be touched, we may take the other that is more temperate." And in every Occurrent he would be sure to find some cool Handle that he might lay Hold of.

To enforce all this, he made a constant Recourse to the Experience of GOD's dealing with him in preceding Accidents, which however dreadful at a Distance, at a nearer View lost much of their Terror. And for others that he saw perplexed

plexed about the Management of their difficult Affairs, he was wont to ask them, "when they would begin to trust GOD, or permit Him to govern the World?" Besides, unto himself and Friends he was wont solemnly to give this Mandate, *Quod sis esse velis, nihilque malis*; in his *English*, to rather Nothing; not only to be content or acquiesce, but know the present State to be the very best that could be wished or fancied.

AND thus all private Concernments he passed over with perfect Indifference; the World and its Appendages hanging so loose about him, that he never took Notice when any Part dropt off, or sat uneasily. Herein indeed he was thoughtful, if Somewhat intervened that had Duty appendant to it; in which Case he would be solicitous to discern where the Obligation lay; but he presently rescued himself from that Disquiet by his Addresses unto GOD in Prayer and Fasting: And if the Thing in Question were of Moment, he called in the Devotions of his Friends.

OF all other Things he most disliked the being left to make a Choice; and hugely applauded the State of Subjection to a Superior, where an obsequious Diligence was the main Ingredient of Duty; as also he did the State of Subjection to Pressure, as a Privilege and Blessing. And though he prayed as heartily as any Person for the Return of the Nation from Captivity, he always first premised the being made receptive of such Mercy by Repentance. He would often both publicly and privately assert, "That prosperous Iniquity would not be Deliverance, but Judgment; that the Nation during its Pressures was under the Discipline of GOD, and should the Almighty dismiss us from his Hands, and put us into our own, give us up to ourselves, with

E 2 *Why*

Why should ye be smitten any more? this were of all Infiictions the most dreadful." Though with admirable *Æquanimity* he could run over the black Annals of the Nation, while its Calamities were reckoned up, he could scarce hear the slightest Mention of its incorrigible Guilt, without dissolving into Tears.

DURING the Current of that Tyranny which for so many Years we all groaned under, he kept a constant Serenity and Unthoughtfulness in outward Accidents; but the approaching Change gave him Somewhat of pensive Recollection, inasmuch that he broke forth into these Words, "I must confess I never saw that Time in all my Life wherein I could so chearfully say my *Nunc dimittis* as now. Indeed I do dread Prosperity, I do really dread it. For the little Good I am now able to do, I can do it with Deliberation and Advice; but if it please GOD I should live and be called to any higher Office in the Church, I must then do many Things in a Hurry, and shall not have Time to consult with others, and I sufficiently apprehend the Danger of relying on my own Judgment." Which Words he spake with the greatest Concern of earnest melting Passion imaginable. Accordingly it pleased Almighty GOD to deal; having granted to his Servant a gracious Answer to his Prayer in the then every Day expected Reception of his sacred Majesty, to remove him to solid and unmixed Rewards.

AT the Opening of the Year 1660, when every Thing visibly tended to the Reduction of his Majesty, the Doctor was by the Fathers of the Church desired to repair to *London*, to assist in the Composure of Breaches in the Church; which Summons as he resolved not to disobey, so could he not
without

without much Violence to his Inclinations submit to. But finding it his Duty, he diverted all Uneasiness, and prepared himself for this new Theatre of Affairs. His first Care was to fortify his Mind against the usual Temptations of Business, Place, and Power. And to this Purpose, besides his earnest Prayers to GOD for his Assistance, and Disposal of him entirely to his Glory, and a diligent Survey of all his Inclinations, and of his more open and less defensible Parts, he farther solemnly adjured that Friend of his with whom he had then the nearest Opportunity of Commerce, to study and examine the last ten Years of his Life, and with the Justice due to a Christian Friendship to observe his Failings of all Kinds, and shew them to him.

AND now considering the Nation was under its great Crisis, and that its Cure, if imperfect, would only make Way to more fatal Sickness, he fell to his Devotions on that Behalf, and made those two excellent Prayers which were published immediately after his Death, and were almost the last Thing he wrote.

BEING in this State of Mind, fully prepared for that new Course of Life, which had Nothing to recommend it to his Taste but its Unpleasantness, he expected hourly the peremptory Mandate which was to call him forth out of his beloved Retirements.

BUT in the Instant, a more importunate, tho' infinitely more welcome Summons engaged him on his last Journey: For on the 4th of *April* he was seized by a sharp Fit of the Stone, with those Symptoms that are usual in such Cases; which yet upon the Voidance of a Stone ceased for that Time. However on the 8th of the same Month it returned

again with greater Violence; and though after two Days the Pain decreased, the Suppression of Urine yet continued, with frequent Vomitings, and a Distention of the whole Body, and likewise Shortness of Breath, upon any little Motion. He seemed to have a certain Knowledge of the Issue of his Sickness; and whereas at other Times, when he saw his Friends fearful, he was used to reply, "that he was not dying yet." Now in the whole Current of his Disease, he never said any Thing to avert Suspicion, but told his Friends, "he should leave them in God's Hands, who could supply abundantly all the Assistance they could either expect or desire from him." And when he observed one of them with some Earnestness pray for his Health, he with tender Passion replied, "I observe your Zeal spends itself all in that one Petition for my Recovery; in the Interim you have no Care of me in my greatest Interest, which is, that I may be perfectly fitted for my Change: I pray let some of your Fervour be employed that Way." And being pressed to make it his own Request to God to be continued longer in the World, to the Service of the Church, he immediately began a solemn Prayer, which contained first a very humble and melting Acknowledgment of Sin, and a most earnest Intercession for Mercy and Forgiveness through the Merits of his Saviour: Next resigning himself entirely into his Maker's Hands, he begged "that if the Divine Wisdom intended him for Death, he might have a due Preparation for it; but if his Life might be in any Degree useful to the Church, even to one single Soul, then God would continue him, and by his Grace enable him to employ that Life industriously and successfully." After this he with great Affection interceded for this Church and Nation, and with particular Vigour prayed for "sincere Performance of Christian

tian Duty now so much decayed, to the equal Supplanting and Scandal of that holy Calling; that those who professed that Faith might live according to the Rules of it, and to the Form of Godliness superadd the Power." This with some Repetitions and more Tears he pursued, and at last closed all in a Prayer for the Family where he was. With this he frequently blessed God for so far indulging his Infirmary, as to make his Disease so painless to Him; withal to send it before he took his Journey, whereas it might have taken him in the Way, with far greater Disadvantages.

NOR did he in this Exigence desist from the Exercise of his accustomed Candour and Sweetness, whereby he used to entertain the Addressees of the greatest Strangers. For two Scholars coming at this Time to see him, when it appeared they were such as he had no Acquaintance with, though they that were about the Doctor proposed that a civil Excuse might be made, and the Visitants dismissed, he resisted the Advice with great Earnestness, saying, "I will by no Means have them sent away; for I know not how much they may be concerned in the Errand they come about." And when upon Trial it appeared that a Complement was the whole Affair, yet the Doctor seemed much satisfied.

LIKEWISE his own Necessities, however pressing, diverted not his Concern for those of others. A Neighbouring Lady languishing under a long Weakness, he took Care that the Church-Office for the Sick should be daily said in her Behalf. At the Beginning of the Doctor's Illness the Chaplain made no other Variation, than to change the Singular into the Plural: But when his Danger increased, he thought fit to pray peculiarly for him; which he would by no Means admit, but said,
"O no,

“ O no, poor Soul, let not me be the Cause of excluding her;” and accordingly had those Prayers continued in the more comprehensive Latitude.

ON the 20th of *April*, being *Good-Friday*, he solemnly received the Sacrament; and again on the 22d of *April*, *Easter-Day*. At which Time when the Number of Communicants was too great to have Place in his Bed-Chamber, and the whole Office was too long for him to go through with, it was ordered, that the Service being performed in the usual Apartment, a competent Number should afterwards come up and communicate with him: Which though he allowed as most fitting, yet he did so with Grief, breaking out into this passionate Complaint, “ Alas! must I be excommunicated?” To be absent from any Part of publick Worship he thus deeply resented: So far was he from their Opinion, who in their most healthful Days make this not their Penance, but Choice.

AMIDST his Indisposition of all Parts, in the Act of Celebration, his Devotion only was not faint, but most vigorous; yet equalled by his infinite Humility, which discovered itself as in his Deportment, so particularly in that his pathological Ejaculation, which brake forth at the hearing of those Words of the Apostle, *Jesus Christ came into the World to save Sinners*; unto which he rejoined, *Of whom I am the Chief*.

BUT now through the long Suppression of Urine the Blood being grown thin and serous, the Doctor fell into a violent Bleeding at the Nose; at which the By-standers being in Astonishment, he cheerfully admonished “ to lay aside Impatience in his Behalf, and to wait God’s Leisure, whose Seasons were

were still the best;" withal thankfully acknowledged God's Mercy in the Dispensation, alledging, "that to bleed to Death was one of the most desirable Passages out of this World."

AND he very justly made this Observation; for it pleased the Divine Providence strangely to balance the Symptoms of the Doctor's Disease to his Advantage: For the sharp Pains of the Stone were allay'd by that Heaviness of Sense which the recoiling of ferous Moisture into the Habit of the Body occasioned; and when that Oppression endangered a lethargick Torpour, he was retained from that by the Flux of Blood. Which several Accidents succeeded one the other, insomuch that in this whole Time of Sickness he neither had long Violence of Torment, nor Diminution of his intellectual Faculties. And here this violent Bleeding being of itself even miraculously stopt, when all Applications were ineffectual, a Drowsiness succeeding, at the Time of Prayers, tho' he returned every Response, he sadly repented it, saying, "Alas! this is all the Return I shall make to his Mercy, to sleep at Prayers."

WHEN he was in Pain he often prayed for Patience, and while he did so, evidenced that his Prayer was heard; for he exercised not only that, but Thankfulness too, in his greatest Extremity crying out, Blessed be God, blessed be God.

NOR did he, according to the usual Method, inflict his Sickness upon those about him, by Peevishness disquieting his Attendants; but was pleased with every Thing that was done, and lik'd every Thing that was brought, condescending to all Proposals, and obeying with all Readiness every Advice of his Physicians. Nor was it Wonder he should

should so accept the Endeavours of his Friends; who had tender Kindness for his Enemies, even the most inveterate and bloody. When the Defeat of *Lambert* and his Party was told him, his only Triumph was that of his Charity, saying with Tears in his Eyes, "Poor Souls! I beseech God forgive them." So habitual was Compassion to his Soul, that all Representations concentered there: Virtue had still his Prayers, because he loved it; and Vice enjoyed them too, because it wanted them.

ALL this Time he administered Reliefs to those about him, mixing Advices with his Prayers, and twisting the Tenderness of a Friend to that of the Christian. He dispensed his best of Legacies, his Blessings; most passionately exhorting the young growing Hopes of the Family, whose first Innocence and Shame of doing Ill he above all Things laboured to have preserved; to be just to the Advantage of their Education; and maintain inviolate their first baptismal Vows: Then he more generally commended to all the great Advantage of mutual friendly Admonitions. On which Occasion when the good Lady asked him what more special Thing he would recommend to her for her whole Life, he briefly replied, Uniform Obedience: Whereby he meant not only a sincere Reception of Duty, because commanded, and not because it is pleasant or honourable, or perchance cheap or easy; but withal the very Condition of Obeying, of not being to chuse for one's Self; the being determined in all Proposals by human or divine Command; and where those left us at large, by the Guidance of God's Providence, or the Assistance of a Friend.

BUT

BUT amidst these happiest Anodynes of Sickneſs, the 25th of *April* drew on, wherein his Flux of Blood breaking forth again with greater Violence, was not to be ſtopt by outward Applications, nor Revulſives of any Kind; 'till at laſt the Fountain being exhausted, the Torrent ceaſed its Courſe; for the Doctör leaving off to bleed about Three in the Afternoon, became weak and diſpirited, and cold in the extreme Parts, having Strength only to perſevere in his Devotions, which he did to the laſt Moment of his Life, a few Minutes before his Death breathing out thoſe Words, “*LORD, make Haſte.*”

AND ſo upon that very Day on which the Parliament convened, which laid the Foundation of our Liberty, this great Champion of Religion, as if reſerved for Maſteries and Combats, for Perſecution and Sufferings, was taken hence.

THE dead Body being opened, the principal and vital Parts appeared ſound; only the right Kidney, or rather its Remainder, was hard and knotty, and in its Cavity, beſides ſeveral little ones, was a large Stone of the Figure of an Almond, though much bigger, whoſe leſſer End was fallen into the Ureter, and as a Stopple cloſed it up; ſo that it is probable that Kidney had ſer divers Years been in a Manner uſeleſs. The other Kidney was ſwolln beyond the natural Proportion, otherwiſe not much decayed; but within the Ureter four Fingers Breadth a round white Stone was lodged, which was ſo faſtened in the Part, that the Phyſician with his Probe could not ſtir it, and was fain at laſt to cut it out; and ſo exactly it ſtopt the Paſſage, that upon the Diſſection the Water before encløſed guſhed forth in great Abundance: From whence it appeared perfectly impoſſible for Art to have ennobled

nobled itself in the Preservation of this great Person; as it was also manifest, that Nothing but the Consequences of his indefatigable Study took him from us, in the 55th Year of his Life.

ON the Morrow in the Evening, the 26th Day of the same Month, he was, according to his Desire, without Ostentation or Pomp, though with becoming Decency, buried at the Neighbour-Church of *Hampton*, with the usual Rites of the Church of *England*, several of the Gentry and Clergy of the County, and affectionate Multitudes of Persons of less Quality attending on his Obsequies, the Clergy with Ambition offering themselves to bear him on their Shoulders; which accordingly they did, and laid that sacred Burden in the Burial place of the generous Family which with such Friendship had entertained him when alive; where now he rests in Peace, and full Assurance of a glorious Resurrection.

HAVING thus given a faithful, though imperfect Draught of this excellent Person, it may possibly be neither useless nor unacceptable to offer a Request to the Reader in his Behalf, and shew him an Expedient whereby he may pay his Debt of Gratitude, and eminently oblige this holy Saint though now with GOD.

IT is this, to add unto his Account in the Day of Retribution by taking Benefit by his Performances; and as he being dead yet speaks, so let him persuade likewise,

THAT the covetous Reader would now put off his sordid Vice, and take Courage to be liberal, assured by his Example, that if in the worst of Times

Times Profuseness could make rich, Charity shall never bring to Beggary.

THAT the Proud would descend from his fond Heights, instructed here that lowly Meekness shall compass Respect, and instead of Hate or Flattery be waited on with Love and Veneration.

THAT the Debauched or Idle would leave his lewd unwarrantable Joys, convinced that strict and rugged Virtue made an Age of Sunshine, a Life of constant Smiles, amidst the dreadfulest Tempests; taught the Gout, the Stone, the Cramp, the Cholick, to be treatable Companions, and made it eligible to live in bad Times and die in flourishing.

THAT the angry Man, who calls Passion at least Justice, possibly Zeal and Duty, would believe that Arguments may be answered by saying Reason, Calumnies by saying No, and Railings by saying Nothing.

THAT the employed in Business would from hence dismiss their Fears of regular Piety, their Suspicion that Devotion would hinder Dispatch of Affairs; since his constant Office (like the Prayer of *Joshua*, which made the Sun stand still) seemed to render unto him each Day as long as two.

THAT the ambitious Person, especially the Ecclesiastick, would think Employment and high Place a Stewardship, that renders Debtors both to God and Man; a Residence at once of constant Labour and Attendance too; a Precipice that equally exposes to Envy and to Ruin; and consequently that which should be our greatest Fear and Terror, but at no Hand our Choice; since it was that which this heroick Constancy was not ashamed

to own a Dread of, and whose Appearance rendered Death itself a Rescue.

Lastly, THAT the narrow self-designing Person, who understands no Kindness but Advantage; the Sensual, that knows no Love but Lust; the Intemperate, that own no Companion but Drink, may all at once from him reform their brutish Errors; since he has made it evident, that a Friend does fully satisfy these distant and importunate Desires, being as the most innocent and certainly ingenuous Entertainment, so besides that the highest Mirth, the greatest Interest, and surest Pleasure in the World.

PERSUASIONS to Piety are now usually in Scorn called Preaching; but it is to be hoped that this, how contemptible soever it be grown, will be no Indecency in this Instance; that it will not be absurd if his History, who deservedly was reckoned among the best of Preachers, should bear a Correspondence to its Subject, and close with an Application: That it adjures all Persons to be what they promised God Almighty they would be in their baptismal Vows, what they see the glorious Saints and Martyrs and Confessors, and in particular this holy Man has been before them; be what is most honourable, most easy and advantageous at present; and, in a Word, to render themselves such as they desire to be upon their Death-beds, and then would be for ever. **6 JY 64**

End of Dr. HAMMOND's LIFE.

M E M O I R S

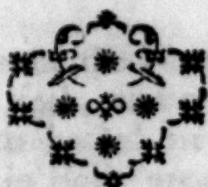
O F T H E

L I F E

O F

Mr. JAMES FRASER.

W R I T T E N B Y H I M S E L F.



MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE



MR. JAMES

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.





THE
L I F E
O F

Mr. JAMES FRASER.

CHAP. I.

*Touching some Things that happened to me
from my Birth 'till I was Seventeen Years
old*

1. **I** WAS born in the North of Scotland, in 1639, July 29th, and was not like to live, but the LORD healed me; for the evil Humours broke out in Boils great and numerous: My Disposition was fullen, and I loved not to wear gawdy Clothes; nor had I any wise Tales like other Children, so that I gave no Occasion to my Parents to repeat them, as Parents usually do with Fondness.

2. YET the LORD was doing me Good all the While. I overpass common Mercies, and mention one that was remarkable. My Mother being obliged to come South, to be out of the Way of a cruel Enemy, lived with a Relation in a Borough-town on the Coast-side: I was very unruly, and therefore kept under some Awe and Restraint from wandering Abroad when I pleased; but this encreased my Desire to ramble the more. At a Time I slipped out, unknown to any, to a Garden where was a deep Well; when once I got out of Doors, I ran as hard as ever I could, and, not taking Heed where I went, I fell in a By-path which carried me directly to the Well before spoken of, open above, and overgrown with Grass, which hid the Water from me; so that before I knew I fell over Head in the Well, the Water being very deep; only my Hands laid hold on the Grass that did grow on the Sides of the Well. Here I continued for a good Space, and should no doubt have drowned, if GOD had not sent some to my Relief; for he that was appointed to wait on me not knowing whither I went, the mere Providence of GOD led him out to seek me in the Garden; when coming to the further End of it, and despairing to find me, he went back with Intention to seek me in Town, which if he had done, I had perished for ever: But the LORD directing him in his coming back to the Well, he cast his Eyes and perceived a Hand lying on the Grass, and, looking more narrowly, found it was I; and so, with much ado pulled me out of the Water, even ready to expire, and unable to help myself: And after the Water was poured out of my Mouth, and I had slept a While, I was as well as ever, thro' the wonderful Goodness of GOD. Oh that I may walk worthy of this Kindness, and that I may be preserved.

served to do him Service! This happened to me during my first Appearance in the World.

3. BEFORE I was converted to GOD in *Christ*, I advanced four Steps; and in every one of them I had undoubtedly rested, and so, missing of *Christ*, I had undoubtedly perished, if I had not been beaten out of them: But the LORD seeing me ready to rest in these, made them all to break under me, until at last he revealed his Son *Jesus* to my Soul.

THE first Step, was the getting some Prayers by Heart, and saying them in a formal Way, Morning and Evening; so that now I was compleat as I thought: The LORD likewise then was drawing my Heart to what was good; for when I said my Prayers Morning and Evening, and did not slight them, I had much Peace and Comfort of Heart; and, when I omitted them, I was vexed in my Conscience. Sometimes for a While together I would omit seeking GOD thro' Sloth, and then would I be terrified with fearful Dreams, the Voice of which I thought was a Rebuke for omitting of my Prayers; and for a While after I would be very zealous; and, when I did any Kind of Duty, I would not be troubled at all; and what Evil soever came upon me, I judged it to be for the Omission of my Duties, which I looked upon as my greatest Sin. By these Means, as the most fit for me then, did the LORD seek to cause me to follow Good, and to eschew Evil.

BUT this continued not long, for I was soon beaten from this resting Place. The Means and Occasions were, (1.) These who should have overseen me grew careless; they let me alone, and took no Account of me at all, but entrusted me

to others : And therefore, having no King, I did what was Right in my own Eyes, (2.) The LORD, after he had several Times drawn me to the Yoke by fearful Dreams and some small Convictions, finding that the Impressions of these Things wore off me, that I slipped out of the Collar again, and not intending that this should be my Rest, did not trouble me ; and I not having Changes, but being let alone, let God and Duty alone, *Psalms* lv. 19. (3.) Because my Soul was not united to *Christ* the Fountain, hence any Thing I had vanished and perished, *John* xv. 4. (4.) Several Lusts not being destroyed, notwithstanding all my Duties ; did in the End choke any Good that was sown. (5.) Evil Company did me much Harm ; and, thro' continual Converse with them, I was transformed into their Image. Thro' these Means mainly it was that I fell from this State, so that I neglected Duty altogether, and at last did so without a Challenge, and gave but too much Way to other Sins, until God used new Means, and made another Assault, which he did shortly thereafter, thus :

THE second Step was the zealous Performance of some Duties, especially Prayer. I know not how, and wonder still at it, that, having so little Knowledge, I could be able to conceive a Prayer, and continue therein for some reasonable Time, and not only so, but to delight in it likewise, and that in a greater Measure than I did formerly. The Occasion was this : My Father was sick and like to die, and then sent for me, having provided a Chaplain to the House, who was to have the Oversight of me likewise ; he was a godly, tender-hearted Man, but none of the deepest Reach : And his Zeal appeared still the more, in that there was Nothing among ourselves but either Ignorance,
Pro-

Profaneness or Formality; while he seemed to follow the Power of Godliness, for which he was generally hated and despised. He was a great Enemy to Vice, such as Drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking and Swearing; and being continued our Chaplain after my Father's Death (for about that Time he died) he set himself to spread the sincere Knowledge of God, and to do Good to others; and, for this Cause, instructed, reproved, and set them upon the Practice of Duties. I coming Home, was delivered over to him, and to his Oversight; which was a great Grief to me, not relishing his Strictness. The first Night I would have gone to Bed without Prayers; but, as I was putting off my Clothes, he marked my Design, and commanded I should fall down on my Knees and recommend myself to God before I went to Bed, which I obeyed, and said over my Evening-Prayer I had before got by Heart, he reading his Book in the mean Time.

WHEN I was in my Bed, the Consideration of my new Yoke made me weep bitterly. The Man was lean and hard-favoured, and kept at a great Distance from me; and I was secretly fearing the Imposition of greater Burdens upon me.

ONE Day, as we were talking more familiarly than ordinarily we were wont, he desired to hear my Prayers. I thereupon repeated both Morning and Evening Prayers I had learned formerly: To which he giving Attention, and knowing both by the Matter, and my Way of repeating them, that they were a Lesson which I had learned from others, he told me, That, unless I had got the Spirit of God to teach me to pray, I could not go to Heaven; and that all other Prayers proved ineffectual: And thereupon, a While after, he pressed

pressed us that were Children to express the pure and real Conceivings of our own Hearts, tho' we should but utter five Sentences at a Time, and that this coming from the Heart was more acceptable to God, than many and long Prayers taught us by others. He likewise taught us the Principles of Religion, the Meaning of the Belief, the LORD's Prayer and Ten Commands; and had a very strict Eye over us, correcting us soundly for Cursing, Swearing, Lying and Sabbath-breaking; and observed our Ways narrowly, and took a strict Account of us both as to what we learned and of our Practices, but especially of me; so that in a short Time, thro' the LORD's Blessing, I attained to some competent Measure of Knowledge, and left my former Ways, and set about secret and publick Duties, being about eleven Years old at this Time; and Use made Duties easy; and the Peace I had in them, with the Hopes of a Reward, made me delight in them, so in a short Time I went about them no longer by Constraint, but of mine own Accord and willingly, and Sometimes would exceed what was enjoined me. Every Day, Morning and Evening, I would bow my Knee, and read some Portion of Scripture, and pray at some Length, and with some Earnestness, but had no spiritual Exercise, and no Communication with God. I likewise began to comply with my Pedagogue better, and to love him better; and he seeing me profit both in Letters and Godliness, was more kind to me: Nor could he be said for all his Strictness to be rigid to me, insomuch that for the Space of a whole Year I remember not that I was twice whipt; and one Time was for swearing and playing at Cards. During the Time which he was with me, being a Year and a Half, I learned the most of my Grammar; but this not being my Rest, I fell grievously away from all this Profession and Practice.

2. THE Steps of this Decay were, (1.) Wantonness and Lightness in Time of publick Prayers, through a foolish light Humour, and the Temptations of others; for I studied not Heart-reformation. (2.) More slight Performance of Duties when I durst not omit them. And, (3.) I would sometimes omit them altogether, when out of the Knowledge of my Governor. (4.) When I began to play on the Sabbath-day with others, for which I got a Memorandum: For one Day, being the LORD's Day, the Children and I were playing some childish Rogueries; which our Governor (good Man) hearing, calls us up, and then very seriously endeavours to persuade us and convince us of the Sin of Sabbath breaking, and the Danger thereof, and gave us a large Exhortation, and then enjoined us all to go to our Knees and confess our Sins to GOD, and seek Pardon thereof, which we obeyed; and, for my Part, though at first I was constrained to it, yet I was serious both in acknowledging of Guilt, and seeking a Pardon of Sin: And, when we had done, we were dismiss'd, being first exhorted not to do the like again; which produced a Reformation in us all for some Time. (5.) Through mine own evil Nature, which was not then mortified, and the Counsel of others that were my Companions, I despised my Governor, and did join with others in afflicting him, by Approbation and Desire, though I durst not do it so openly. (6.) I proceeded from this to a more open Violation of the Sabbath, and played with the Servants on the LORD's Day, from Six o'Clock 'till Nine, my Tutor in the mean Time, I know not how, either remitting in his Zeal, or hoping when we were more settled in our Affairs (for we were to go South on the next Day) to rectify Things.— (7.) When I came South, my Pedagogue became
more

more rigid to me, and whipped me more frequently, I confels deservedly; and I turned to hate him, and became stubborn, and would do Nothing for him. My Father being dead, I was but too much countenanced by those with whom I was, who would not suffer him to take such a Course with me as I merited; so that Things came this Length, that I openly reviled him, and avowedly omitted Duty. At last he was put away. (8.) He once being put away, I became worse, and did no Good at all; I neglected Duty sometimes for many Days together. (9.) I was much given to Lying, and made an extraordinary Practice of it, so that I could scarce speak a true Word. (10.) I turned to mock Godliness sometimes, though this did not proceed so much from an Habit and Inclination, as from the Temptations of others, whom, by this Means, I studied to please. (11.) My Conscience at last became seared and insensible, so that I did all this with little or no Remorse. (12.) I stole from my Mother's Waiting-man Five Shillings Sterling while I lay with him; and being suspected for it, I was denying it, but it was proved against me, and I was with Shame made to restore it. (13.) I became so wicked, as not content to omit Prayer on the Sabbath-day, and to talk idly as others did, I played the whole Day at Dice, contrary to my Light, and my Conscience even in the mean Time accusing and condemning me. In a Word, I was clean gone, and Nothing all this Time was dealing with me, save only some ineffectual Checks upon my Heart now and then.

3. **THIS** Decay did proceed from the same Causes with the former; yet I remarked these five Things, to have had most Influence on me: (1.) I prayed, but endeavoured not to take away my Sins; my Prayers never killed my Sins, and therefore my
Sins

Sins killed Prayer: Like many now, that profess, and yet sin on still; that fear the LORD, and serve their Idols. (2.) My Governor decayed in his Zeal, through Want of good Company, and through Neglect of private Prayer in which I marked him deficient, and through too much Familiarity with the Domesticks that did blunt his Zeal; and I think, seeing my Wickedness grow upon him and over-master him, he despaired of doing me Good. (3.) Because, when he was gone, none took Care of me; and *I did what was Good in mine own Eyes*. None did reprove or correct me for my Faults, nor did look on my Soul at all, or out me cut to Duty, but gave me loose Reins; and, old *Jehojadah* being dead or gone, *I did Evil in the Sight of the LORD*. (4.) Because not followed with Terrors and Convictions, Peace and Ease did me Hurt. (5.) I found evil Company did me much Harm; I learned their Ways; they hardened and encouraged me in an ill Course, and drew me from the LORD.

4. YET, notwithstanding, I was not altogether left of GOD; now and then the Spirit of GOD would strive and draw me contrary to my Inclinations, now and then I would pray and read, and be affected: An this proceeded from these Causes; (1.) Some extraordinary sharp Convictions from the LORD on my Conscience, that would put me out to Prayer and to get Peace; which Storm being over, I cared not for Prayer any more.— (2.) Outward and grievous Afflictions at School, by Reason of the tyrannical Rigidity of a School-master, who delighted in the Scourging of Children, and would often-times pick Quarrels with me and scourge me for little or no Fault. And this in the Anguish of my Soul would cause me to pour out a Prayer. (3.) Sometimes our Teachers

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would instruct us to pray ; and then an Exhortation had some Influence on me. I lingered on in this Condition three or four Years, until I went South again, in order to my going to the College.

THE third Step. 1. I was then going about the Form of all Manner of Duties both publick and private, joined likewise with Reformation and Zeal. Before I was only taken up in Prayer, but now I made Conscience of all Duties ; and therefore meditated, read the Scriptures frequently, kept the Sabbath very strictly, and read good Books : I left all my old Sins, and Ways such as Lying, Swearing, and made Conscience of all moral Virtues ; I left my Gaming, my idle Talk, and became very temperate ; and, if I at any Time failed, I would fall down on my Knees, and beg the LORD's Mercy. Yea, so zealous was I, that I endeavoured to gain others, and would reprove them for their Looseness : And this produced in me some Love to the Godly, so that I seemed both to myself and others, a new Man ; and yet I was a Stranger to *Christ*, and lying fast bound in a natural Condition.

THE Occasion of this Reformation was this ; One Sabbath-day, being then 15 Years of Age, I read a Book called the *Practice of Piety*, concerning the Misery of a natural Man, the Torments of Hell, and the Blessedness of a godly Man, and some Directions for godly Life : My Heart was therewith so affected, that without more ado I resolved to become a new Man, and to live not only a harmless Life, but a devout Life, to turn my Back upon all my old Ways, and utterly to forsake them. And in this Way I had marvellous Sweetness and Peace, esteeming myself really converted ; and would ordinarily in my Prayers thank

the LORD for giving me his good Spirit; and thought with myself, if I continued in this Condition to the End, I should undoubtedly be saved. In a Word I was a compleat Pharisee; for the Benefit of others I will describe the Frame of my Spirit under this Dispensation.

2. I HAD the very Characters of a Pharisee: For, (1.) I looked only to the outward Letter of the Law, and endeavoured an outward Conformity thereto. (2.) I judged myself rather by the Length and Multitude of my Duties, than by any other Thing in them. (3.) I rested in Duties as the End, and made them not the Means to bring me to *Christ*: When I did seek or pray for any spiritual Mercy, it was not the Things I sought I was mostly taken up with: Which did evidence itself to me in this, that when I prayed for any Mercy, when I got it not, nor any Promise of it, yet was I satisfied. (5.) Whenever I sinned, I satisfied GOD and my own Conscience by doubling my Duties, and gave them to the LORD as Satisfaction: And then, as though the Blood of *Christ* had been applied, there ensued Peace. (5.) Hence my Duties never put away my Sins, but I served the LORD and my Idols; and, if there was any Reformation, it was but the Out-side of the Plate that was cleansed: But I neither saw, nor did hate, nor strive against, nor overcome any Heart-corruptions. (6.) I was utterly ignorant of the Mystery of the Gospel; I neither knew nor studied Faith, nor the Promises, nor Justification by imputed Righteousness. (7.) I was more troubled for the Want of Holiness and the Neglect of Duties than for the Want of *Christ*, and loved *Christ's* Benefits better than *Christ* Himself. (8.) I hated profane Persons, and loved civil Men that had any Form of Religion; but did not relish the most strict,

strict, especially such who expressed the Power of Godliness, *John* xv. 8. (9.) Heaven was not sweet to me, but I ever thought on it with Grief and Aversion, in Respect of the constant uninterrupted spiritual Exercises they had there, and the Want of carnal Comforts. (10.) My Conscience, notwithstanding, was unsatisfied, and there was a Worm gnawing at the Root of all this; I could not be quit of this Assault, that for all this I should probably go to Hell. I had no great Security from all my Duties, and my Fears were still alive; and I found, the more I did, they increased, *Matt.* xix. 16. the young Man cried still out, *What shall I do to inherit eternal Life?* (11.) Whatever I did was rather to satisfy Conscience, than from Love to GOD, who was a Terror to me, and whom I could not otherwise represent to myself than as an angry Judge and Enemy, whom I was troubled to satisfy.

3. I DECAYED from this and fell, and was beaten off it through these Means; (1.) My Pleasures, Vanities and evil Company, to which I was not mortified, did draw my Heart away. (2.) Sins did break out, such as Cursing Swearing and Cursing, and that frequently; so as I could not get Comfort in Duties. And this produced a Despair in me of the Works of my Hands; my Duties were not able to bear up the Weight of my Sins: And therefore, sighing, I went backward; and seeing there was no Hope, and loving Idols, I said I would follow them, *Jer.* ii. 28. *Lam.* i. 9. (9.) Duties, through Process of Time, began to be a Burden to me, especially when they gave me not full Satisfaction nor Peace: I was wearied in the Greatness of my Way, and with labouring in the Smoke, and found no End in the Travail of my Soul, and therefore gave over; for this Thought remained

remained secretly in my Heart, That I should go to Hell when all was done. (4.) By a certain Providence I was brought to see the Vanity of all this, which made me seek to another Mountain for Rest; and, finding none, I turned a Seeker, though not in Judgment, yet really and truly in Practice; which made me despair not only of being happy in the Works of the Law which I had done, but even by these which I was to do.

THE fourth Step was, Being out of all Forms, I turned a Seeker, had no Principle, but lived in Hopes that GOD would reveal Himself to me: Sometimes I prayed; I had some Comfort in doing Duties with any Affection and Life, which Sometimes I would attain unto. The Occasion was this; I was before this a Formalist; Duties were my *Christ*, which I began (through my prevailing Lusts and outward Temptations, and withal some secret Suspicions of their Influence to justify me) gradually to be remiss in: Yet I left not the Principle; (notwithstanding I fell short in my Practice) That if I could abstain from my ordinary Sins, keep the Sabbath-day, pray Morning and Evening, and do every known Duty, I should be saved. And this continued until, being left by my Mother in a religious Family, I by Providence took up a Book called the *Seventeen false Rests*; wherein I found the Vanity of Formality in Duties discovered very plainly, and some other Lengths I had not attained to. I was afterwards confirmed in this by reading the Confession of Faith, where it saith, *That though one should form his Life never so exactly, according to Nature and Morality, without Christ he could not be saved.*

THIS was enough; and the Spirit seconding it, convinced me I was quite wrong first, and had never

ver known what true Grace was; and besides, despaired ever of myself to come to that Estate of Grace: All my Refuges of Lyes were shaken, and that which many Sermons for a long Time could not do, now in a Moment three Lines did.

2. THE Frame of my Spirit might be thus described; 1. I thought all my Duties, and all I could do, insufficient to save me, though as yet I saw not so clearly the Insufficiency of Duties; and therefore did easily conclude, that all this Time I was in an unconverted Condition, and, if I died without a further Change than yet I felt, I should undoubtedly be damned. 2. I thought there was a certain State and blessed Condition to which all the Converted, and such as had the LORD's Spirit, had come, betwixt me and which there was a very great Cloud; and that I was, as it were, locked up from this. 3. I had some Hopes that God might do me Good, and bring me to this State before I died. 4. I had in the mean Time some sharp and terrible Convictions for particular Sins, but not for my evil Nature, and which wore away without any remaining Effect. 5. I had no Principle, nor rested in any Thing, but looked for some Divine Manifestation and extraordinary Revelation to my Soul. 6. I prayed Sometimes when the Spirit moved, and Sometimes not; yet had no Peace except when I prayed with Life and Affections; and then, though I rested not in this, yet would it comfort me. 7. I thought that those that were regenerate lived a Life of perpetual Comfort and Glory, and always performed Duties with Life; and, when I arrived at this Pitch, I should judge myself converted. And I further thought there was a marvellous Way of attaining to this, I looked for the Kingdom of Heaven to come with Observation. 8. I ordinarily slighted Duties,

Duties; and fell into Swearing, Lying, and idle Talking and Carding; Pleasures were my Idol to which I was not mortified; I had no Principle nor Center. 9. I mourned for Sin, nor because it offended GOD, but because of the Consequents of it; I was not sincere; And I thought, if once I could hate Sin because it offended GOD, that then I was sincere. I went on thus for the Space of three Years, settled in Nothing, but in a waiting and seeking Condition.

3. DURING this Time I met with some wonderful Providences, wherein much of the Power and Goodness of GOD did visibly appear.

THEY were these: 1. A Year and a Half after I had blasphemed, being in my Bed, the Thoughts of that grievous Sin came to my Mind, and that with such Horror as made me tremble with an unaccustomed Fear. I essayed to pray, but could not get my Mouth opened; a Number of Blasphemies and Cursings ran in my Mind with great Horror and against my Will, which I thought was like the Devil in me. I had not Knowledge, and therefore was the more troubled; for I was not fourteen Years of Age then. The more these Thoughts ran in my Mind, my Horror was increased, inso-much, that at last it became intolerable; and then, in my Extremity and in great Anguish of Spirit, the LORD pitied me, and opened my Mouth to pray for Help, which I did most affectionately, and with great Liberty and Abundance of Tears, which did by a secret Virtue calm my confused Soul; for now did I conceive that I was not quite forsaken of GOD, and slept till the next Day: But my Troubles began the next Day again, I then read in Godly Books; and casting a Book up at Random, the first Passage that I met with was

was this, "When *Satan* casts in blasphemous Thoughts in thy Heart, be not discouraged; for they are not thine, but *Satan's*." Here was a Well of Water; tho' my Eyes at first could not see it so full, yet it did Somewhat help me, and by it now I perceived much of GOD's condescending Nature: In Process of Time, when I began to be less troubled, these blasphemous Thoughts wore away, and so did my Trouble likewise.

A SECOND merciful Providence was this: In the Time I was a Seeker, and heard them speaking of the Sin against the Holy Ghost, and that it was unpardonable, I began presently to have some weak Suspicions that I had sinned that Sin, but concluded Nothing certainly, because I knew not what the Sin might be: And all this Time it was my Exercise to enquire of such as had Knowledge, what that Sin against the Holy Ghost might be: At last I took up a Concordance to seek the LORD's Mind in his Word, and looked the Word *Sin*; I read, *Heb. x. 26. If we sin wilfully, &c.* I thought I was stricken there with as with Thunder, and continued amazed and speechless for a While; for I thought it was clear and past Doubt I should go to Hell, seeing I had sinned against Knowledge, and wilfully: So that, for the Space of three Days, this Temptation was a very sad Exercise to me. Now, said my Heart to me, dost thou not at last see thy Doom clearly revealed? What need more Witnesses? Then did I endeavour to pray, but was beaten back, because I thought it was in vain, seeing there is no more Sacrifice for Sin; yet I prayed. That Word, I remember, in the Midst of my Despair came to Mind, *Abraham in Hope believed against Hope*; and therefore, I thought, tho' there was no Hope, yet I should hope against Hope: This was the only Thing that did uphold me then.

I drove

I drove heavily and heartlesly like *Pharaoh's* Chariots, because I had no Hope; altho' it stood me very much, I multiplied Prayers, but they did not heal me; I remembered *Esau*, who wept until he got a Blessing: And did *Esau*, said I, prevail with his earthly Father by his Importunity, notwithstanding that he could not help him, so as in the End to get some Blessing? And cannot the Power and Wisdom of God help me, tho' I cannot conceive how? His Thoughts are above mine. This staid me Something, and withal put me to multiply my Prayers, and to increase the Importunity: But, after I was for three Days fearfully shaken, having communicated my Case to none, the LORD did at last grant some Deliverance, not by removing the Cause, but by restraining *Satan*: I got a negative Peace that I was not troubled, but lived as I was wont for a Year after that, until the same Temptation occurred again. It is the LORD that raises the Wind and Storm, and that calms them again; and, Oh what a Mercy and Power, that ever my Conscience should be clear of such a Storm! It is yet a Wonder unto me: If he give Peace who can trouble? Let never any despair after me, tho' he were certain of Hell; the gladdest Word I could hear was, that my Sins were pardonable, and that there was a Possibility to be saved. In no Case Man is to despair, God can help in every Case.

A THIRD Providence happened to me a Year after upon the same Occasion. One Sabbath Day at Night I had made some Vows in my last Trouble, that I would seek GOD more diligently than I had done; but when the LORD's Arrows were out of my Reins, I forgot what I promised, and turned as bad as ever, being seduced with carnal Company at the College: But the LORD gave me an A-
waken-

wakening; for the Sermon I had heard, being a Relation of some under Terrors of Conscience, and their sad Condition, had some Impressions on my Spirit, so that by Nine o' Clock in my Bed, recalling to Mind my old Sins for some Hours, a more violent Storm broke out than any I had ever felt: I looked on myself as one that had undoubtedly sinned unpardonably; I saw in GOD's Countenance Terror, Wrath, Hatred and Vengeance; and some of my natural Enmity against the LORD did break out likewise; so that I struggled, murmured and fretted against GOD, like the Damned in Hell, for suffering me to Sin unpardonably. Want of Hope is terrible; I was as if in Hell; no visible Thing did uphold me, only the secret Power of GOD; I was in an hourly Expectation when *Satan* should come and take me away; and it was beaten upon me with a mighty Impression, that I was delivered to the Devil. It was impossible for me to pray; for in approaching to GOD, I approached to my Torment. I sought with Sleep to pass away that Night, the sorrowfullest that I ever endured, and so wear away my Horrors, and hoped the Morning would some Way chear me: But I could not Sleep, my Horror still increased, and Hopelessness was the Sting of all my Evils. It entered into my Head once to put Hands to myself; but this Temptation did not take, for I looked on it as a mad Thing to torment myself before the Time; it was Hell I feared, and should I then run to it? At last, after much Tossing, and hardly Praying, it pleased GOD Somewhat to allay my Horror with these Considerations, which I thought some good Spirit suggested unto me: Thou knowest not how thou sinnedst, nor rememberest the Frame of thy Heart at that Time; and wilt thou then condemn thyself upon Uncertainties? This was rational, but did not calm my Heart; it, like cold Water
cast

caſt on a Burning, did for a Time eaſe it, but did not heal, becauſe little of GOD was here. At length the LORD brake in with this, It is certain, that theſe who have ſinned the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt can never ſincerely repent. Yes, ſaid I, that is true. Well, ſaid the LORD, take but this Counſel: Suspend for a Time judging of yourſelf, neither concluding that your Sin is pardonable not, till you ſee whether GOD will give Repentance, or not: Therefore, while the LORD ſpares you Life, try Him with this, and ſeek Repentance of Him: If He give Grace, then mayeſt thou be certain and infallibly perſwaded that thou haſt not ſinned this Sin; but, if not, and that GOD give you not Repentance you can but be damned, and by this Courſe you can be no worſe than you are; you may get ſome Peace in the mean Time. This prevailed; and the LORD by it calmed my Spirit, ſo within a few Days all the Impreſſions of this Temptation vaniſhed.

4. DURING this Time I lived in divers Sins; as 1. In ſeeking and living in Pleaſures. 2. Omitting of Duties, and excellent Occaſions of powerful Sermons that were at that Time preached by the ableſt Men in the Kingdom; likewise I neglected to improve the Society of godly Chriſtians. 3. Neglecting my Book and miſpending my Time. 4. Continuing in a Courſe of Enmity againſt the moſt Godly, and defaming them ſometimes falſly. 5. Playing at Cards, Dice, and other Lotteries, and that in a Place where ſevere Laws were made againſt them. 6. Defaming of my Neighbours with Paſquils and light Poems. 7. I was light in my Converſation. 8. Waſting and ſpending much Money unneceſſarily.

5. FROM all this I learn, 1. The Time of Youth is the moſt fit Season to ſeek GOD. I found much Tractableneſs in myſelf while I was young.

2. That

2. That the best Mean under Heaven for seasoning young Ones with the Knowledge of GOD, is the Admonition, Care and Watchfulness of Superiors; this was the only Thing that did me Good.

3. That the LORD doth usually bless this Mean with Success when it is made Conscience of, *Gen. xviii. 19.* *Abraham* shall teach his Children, and they shall keep my Commandments. The Pains of others upon me had some Effect on my Spirit, even whilst much did not appear unto others.

4. GOD is at much Pains with Sinners ordinarily before He draw them fully, wholly and effectually to Himself. I was far from Conversion at this Time; only I learned that there was a certain glorious State of Grace to which some were brought, and that I was a Stranger unto it.

5. GOD is good to the Unthankful and Evil when they are in Extremity. He heareth the Cry of Nature, and did hear me in my Extremity when I cried to Him.

6. Let never any Man upon any Account neglect the Use of Prayer, or other Means, tho' it seems never so unreasonable; for against Hope, Sense and Reason, when I was put to Prayer, it was not in vain.

7. It is ordinary to seek to other Physicians and Means, and to rest on them, before there be a Coming to *Christ*.

8. All false Rests will fail, and will wear away, and must do so without *Christ*; partly because of their decaying Nature; partly because, while these continue green and fresh, the Soul will not come to *Christ*.

9. A Soul that is a Stranger to GOD and true Conversion, may receive some great Favours and Deliverances at the LORD's Hand, and may have particular and clear Experiences of the LORD's Power and Goodness, as *Hagar*, and be therewith affected, *Gen. xvi. 13.*

10. I find the Neglect or careless Performance of private Duties, especially Meditation and Prayer, to have ever a great Influence on all the Decays

that

that happen to a Person, *Exod. xvii. 11. Psalm*
lvi. 9. Matt. xxvi. 41.



CHAP. II.

Declaring the Way and Manner of my Conversion, and of some Things that happened then and immediately after.

I. **A**BOUT the Time that the related Providences happened unto me at the University, being at the Age of seventeen or eighteen Years, our Minister proposed to celebrate the Sacrament of the LORD'S-Supper, of which he gave Warning the Sabbath preceeding, I purposed (I know not upon what Ground) to partake thereof. I had always a reverend Esteem of that Ordinance, and was under the deep Impressions of eating and drinking my own Damnation: The LORD did therefore put it into my Mind, both by ordinary and extraordinary Means, to do my utmost Endeavour to attain to a converted Condition; nor was I of the Judgment that Conversion was within the Compass of my own Power, but I hoped, that doing Diligence, the LORD might help; and for this Cause set to Work immediately, beseeching God that He would effectually work upon my Spirit, seeing all former Means had been used in vain. I went to Sermon, and I found a better Relish in the Sermon than I had wont to find, and had an Ear to hearken more attentively than at other Times: After we were gone from Church I spent the rest of the Day in spiritual Exercise, and so continued very diligent in seeking the LORD, growing daily in the Knowledge and

Love of his Ways; seeing a Beauty, and finding a Relish that I never knew before. Books and Discourses of practical Divinity were sweet, and so were spiritual Exercises; I had now tasted of the Wine, but had not bought it.

2. BUT on *Wednesday* about Six o'Clock at Night, finding by Marks I had read in Books that I was not converted, and not getting that I expected, I was much troubled. Sometimes I thought that I would suspend Communicating at that Time; and if this Resolution had prevailed, I would not have troubled myself with Religion at that Time: But hoping still for some Good, I continued in my Resolution; yet, as I said, when I saw all in vain, and that I met not with what I expected, tho' I met with more than ever I did before, Discouragements did quite overwhelm me; and, withal, this Apprehension lay heavy on me, and haunted me like a Ghost, That it was in God's Mind never to do me Good: So that Fear, Discouragement, Despair, and some Horror and Grief, all took Hold of me. I resolved to set the next Day apart for Fasting, and therein to seek God, hoping that these extraordinary Means might do Something. Hanging therefore by this small Thread, I went to Prayer with many sad Complaints; and the LORD, while I was like the prodigal Son yet a great Way off, ran to meet me. I addressed myself to speak to the LORD *Christ*, and then was there a Gospel-View given me of Him; and some Considerations and Representations of *Christ* were brought into my Mind, That He was a Friend and Saviour to poor Sinners, their only Helper, *the Way, and the Truth, and the Life*, that died for them, and One willing to be reconciled. What shall I say? While I was thus exercised, a marvellous Light shined on my Under-

derstanding, and with the Eyes of my Mind, not of my Body, I saw that just One in his Glory and Love and Offices, and Beauty of his Person; such a Sight as I never did see any Thing like it, and which did so swallow me up, that I turned speechless, and only said, What is this? And where am I now? The Glory, Love, and Loveliness of *Jesus*, revealed to me, did very far exceed all that ever I saw or could see in the World, insomuch, that there was no Comparison; I was drawn by this; And after I had recovered, I said, O LORD, Thou hast overcome me! Heart and Hand, and all that I have is Thine; I am content to live and die with Thee. Be gone, poor World and beggarly Vanities, and despitiful Devil and Flesh, I will serve you no longer; I know now of a Master and Lover, to whom henceforth I will dedicate myself.

Now are all my Doubts loosed; and now I see I have not sinned the Sin against the Holy Ghost. What shall I now do for the LORD? Let Heaven and Earth, Angels and Men praise Him; for He hath looked graciously upon me, and that in my low Condition. What am I or my Father's House, that thine Eye should be cast on me? There followed upon this such Liberty as I thought I could spend the whole Night in Prayer. Now was I persuaded that I was come to that Pitch which formerly I wanted; and all the Clouds vanished which were betwixt the LORD and my Soul. This continued in its Strength only for a Quarter of an Hour, and then it abated as to its Measure, though not altogether; but after I rose from Prayer, I went to the Fields, and there sang Songs of Triumph: I comforted myself in my new Condition, and I prophesied to myself much more, seeing these were but the Beginnings: Nor did I

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think my Happiness could be equalled by any; and now was I fully content to communicate. I longed for some quiet Place to pour out my Soul unto the LORD, for I thought He would return again; but He did it not. I bore the first Repulse, hoping that at last the LORD would return: All Scruples, Fears and Doubts were banished. I went to Bed; and when I was lying down, Now, said I, sleep securely, and so thou mayest, seeing thou art reconciled to GOD. Never could I do it one Night before; but now let Heaven and Earth go together.

1. BUT the LORD withdrawing that comfortable Presence which I enjoyed before, humbled me very much; and Mists began to arise, and the Sky to darken. Yet I sought the LORD tho' in Heaviness of Heart; and indeed was not idle: But Discouragements encreased, and still Nothing but Absence, insomuch as I thought my Condition worse than ever. I sought the LORD Night and Day, as much through Sense of the Danger of the Want of Him, as thro' any Thing else; but all would not do. The Sabbath came, on which the Sacrament was to be given; my Fears and Sorrows encreased, and I was tempted not to communicate. There was one Mr. R. B. serving the Table; he proposed an Objection which some doubting Christians might have: *Many will say, saith he, Oh! I fear to draw on more Guilt in my Communicating. But, Oh! said he, would to GOD that there were many of this Judgment! But I will tell thee, poor doubting Thing, whether thou mayest come or not: Tell me, Wast thou seeking Christ or not this Week? Yes, quoth I quietly. It is like thou hast found Something then: And did Christ, drop in Myrrh in the Lock of the Door of thy Heart before He went away? Know it poor Soul, He will come again, for that is his Token;* and

and thou mayst come here, and in his Name I invite thee. This drew me to come, though I found no sensible Presence at the Time; and thereupon ensued great Fears. Yet the same Mr. R. B. did in the Afternoon encourage me again, so that I resolved to take Courage.

2. FINDING these Discouragements did no Good, and that comforting my Heart did no Ill, I resolved to chear myself, and used some general encouraging Considerations, and therewith was some Way strengthened to go about my Work. Thou art now engaged to be the LORD's Servant; wait upon Him, and trust thy Reward unto Him. This Advice did no Ill. Then Sermons were very sweet unto me, and so was the Exercise of all spiritual Duties, so that I grew in the Knowledge of the Ways of GOD; and the more I knew, I was the more delighted in Him: Every spiritual Duty did relish with me, and I was not well but when out of one Duty into another; yea, the most cold Prayers and Discourses concerning Godliness were sweet, and Opportunities of Prayer and getting Good were highly prized by me. I began within a Month's Time to be more slack; but the LORD warned me of it, and I mended my Pace.

3. THUS was the everlasting Seed sown that was the Light of Glory then arising upon my Soul: But this did not long continue; for shortly after there arose a more grievous Storm, and of longer Continuance than any I had met with yet: The Sacrament being to be given in the Town about that Time, I resolved to partake thereof, to see if I could get any Thing from GOD; and for this Cause prepared myself diligently, and went about the Work of Self-examination: But being but young, and having small Experience of my own Heart, I could get little Clearness; however this

Exercise stirred up some Things ready to die in me, and I did still grow in the Knowledge and Love of the Truth; until one Afternoon, which I had set apart for seeking of God, I was reading on *Luke xxii.* where *Christ* did eat the Passover with his Disciples; and reading these Words (*and the twelve Apostles with Him*) I know not how it came to pass, but, reflecting on my Deadness in reading such Love as this, I concluded I had no Grace; and withal observing how *Christ* was so familiar with his Apostles, and how unkind to me, the Apprehensions of Distance and Separation from *Christ* were so fearful, that incontinently the Wind was up very boisterous, and I was brought again to the Rack. Then did my evil Nature discover itself to me, and then did I murmur against God, that was so kind to others, and yet kept such Distance with me; I envied as I thought, the very Apostles. Fretting and Murmuring did but like Rain encrease the Floods; so that in Sorrow and Bitterness of Heart I walked up and down for Want of God whom I could not find, and under the sensible Apprehensions of his Wrath, All these Things with the fearful Frame of my Spirit, did put me in great Horror, so that I lost almost all Hope. Then was I again vehemently urged that I had sinned the Sin against the Holy Ghost; so that I could get Nothing spoken for myself. And that which did heighten all this was, that the Law brake in upon me, *that Sin might become exceeding sinful, and wrought in me all Manner of Disobedience*; for my Heart murmured, fretted and swelled against God for guiding me thus; and, having terrible Apprehensions of Him, I could not love Him: And now, said Conscience, see how thou smellest already of Hell; how canst thou imagine that God will look upon thee that hast such a cursed Nature; The Brand of the Reprobate is upon thee; why wilt thou therefore pray

or hope any more? Yet, notwithstanding would I pray, and that frequently; I know not what put me out to it. Many Times did I grovel on the Ground, and sought his Favour and Compassion; then was it that my Tears were my Meat; then was Prayer Bitterness to me, and my Mouth closed, and I as it were bound with Bands; for GOD was never more terrible than when I approached to Him in Prayer. I remember one Day, praying out in the fields, I had this Expression; LORD, if Thou wilt for Nothing else compassionate me, yet compassionate my young Years; and yet I know not how Thou canst break thy faithful Word, who hast said, that such as sin against the Holy Ghost shall never be pardoned. Nature seeks its own Preservation, and therefore, having no other Shift to make, I applied myself to my LORD only: And now my greatest Trouble was concerning the Unpardonableness of my Sins, especially that particular Sin; yet would my Spirit calm betwixt Hands, and be at Ease for a While. I thought the Devil had a great Hand in my Temptations: For said I, While I was walking after the Flesh, there was Nothing of this seen or heard; but since I have come to and engaged with *Christ*, is all this come upon me. I continued in the Extremity of this Condition but a few Days, never opening my Case to any: I was sent for by my Relations upon some emergent Occasion; I was glad of the Opportunity, because by that Means I should shun the Sacrament that was to be given about that Time; but, coming there, my Horrors increased; I thought every Creature happy but myself; Meat, Drink and Company were a Burden to me.

4. WHILE I was thus hopeless and helpless, not knowing what to do; to aggravate all my Miseries, I was to hear a dead lifeless Preacher: Ah, and

and must I, said I, have this with all my Evils, to come under a dead Ministry? But I went with the rest thinking it indifferent whom I heard, seeing I saw it beyond the Power of Means to help me. The Text was, 1. *Tim. i. 1. Paul an Apostle of Jesus Christ.* I went betwixt Sermons to a secret Place, and there poured out my Soul to GOD in Prayer; But no refreshing. I came unto the Afternoon's Sermon again; but, behold the LORD's Goodness! From an unexpected Hand, and from so general a Text, and at such an unexpected Time, the LORD did send a Calm, and did that which I thought was impossible, *viz. clear me fully* (after all my Considerations had been in vain) that I had not sinned unpardonably, from these Words which he cited in his Sermon, *Howbeit GOD forgave me, because I did it ignorantly and in unbelief.* The Spirit said, whatever thy Sins have been, they have been done in Unbelief, or whilst thou wast an Unbeliever, when thou knewest Nothing of GOD. This was enough; GOD may make any Thing strong to do his Work. The Devil and all his Storms were rebuked and calmed, and that suddenly, and so fully, that I was never after assaulted with Temptations of sinning against the Holy Ghost. My Heart was made holy, and I put on a full Resolution to seek the LORD 'till I should find Him: And now I had good Hopes, seeing my Sins were pardonable; and this Hope produced a chearful Endeavour to seek the LORD, which I did, and was labouring to do Good unto others, and to spread the Knowledge of *Christ*, by which Means I daily grew in the Knowledge and Love of GOD.

5. I look upon this as the Time of my Conversion, and that then the everlasting Seed was sown; that Heaven was begun, and *Christ* formed within me, upon these Considerations, 1. Because I found
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my Heart changed: As to my Company, I hated the most strict before, but now I loved and delighted most in the most holy and strict People: And this Love was universal, so that when either I heard tell of a godly Man, or saw him, my Heart warmed; and the *Love of the Brethren* I look on as a Sign that I am *translated from Death to Life*, 1 John iii. 14. 2. Because I found a new Esteem of, a great Delight in, and Love to, and Longing after the Ordinances of *Christ* and his Commands; I saw a Glory in them, every Thing that favoured of GOD was sweet. 3. Because I found my Heart at that Instant mortified to the World, and the Esteem of and Delight in it gone. 4. Because my Soul did see, esteem, love and delight in the LORD JESUS, and preferred Him not only to the World, but to Saints, Duties and Ordinances; and made a perpetual, cordial and personal Covenant to live with Him and serve Him. 5. I found a glorious, universal, and abiding Change, wrought by the LORD Himself, *from Sin and Satan to God, and from Darknefs to Light*. All Things were then new. 6. I was carried with great Zeal for the LORD against all Sin and Sinners; and did strive to draw all Men to *Christ*, by instructing and exhorting them. 7. I found a new Light discovering to me the Mysteries of the Kingdom of God, and making me from that Time forward to understand the Scriptures, the Exercise of Saints recorded in Scripture; and I delighted not only in the History of the Scripture, but in the Prophecies, Promises, Doctrines and spiritual Part thereof, which I never relished before. Then was Wisdom and her Ways pleasant, and became plain to me, which were before locked up as a Mystery. 8. In Respect of the LORD's After-dealing with me, and of his former Dealing; for He was preparing me before, and driving me out of
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my false Rests. And ever after, although there have been Shakings and Interruptions, yet hath that Spark never died which was kindled, but hath been growing more and more; some Good ever remained, and, in my sorest Decays, the Impressions of GOD's Dealing at this Time remained, so that there was a Longing after the first Husband, which was the Means to reduce me out of a back-sliding Condition: And therefore I look upon it as the *Well of Water springing up to everlasting Life*.

6. I HAVE looked on the LORD's Dealings towards me, and what this Manifestation of Himself in such a Manner might speak to me, and what might be the Ends thereof; and, after Enquiry I found them to be, 1. To draw the Soul to GOD by Faith and Love. He lets us taste his Wine, that it may be bought; and therefore is there a *Seeing of the Son* and a *Believing on Him*, John vi. 40. John xx. 29. Oh love, and come to this glorious one, and having discovered Him to be the LORD of Glory *open the everlasting Doors*, yea, and when this Love is dead, quicken it again, by remembering Him. 2. To strengthen our Faith in his Love, and our Hope of Heaven; and therefore hath He given this Testimony of his Love, revealing to me that rare Sight hid from the World, to be a Pledge and Earnest of Heaven; and upon this to build and strengthen my Faith, both in drawing near to Him, and expecting all Good from Him. This Revelation of *Jesus*, enlightning, comforting and sanctifying, is to me the Earnest of the Inheritance, 2 Cor. i. 22. 3. To comfort me in my Choice, shewing that I have not cast away all for Shadows. 4. To make known Himself in his condescending Power and Glory, of which I might doubt

doubt if I had not seen with mine own Eyes. Why should I doubt of this his Power, when I have myself seen such a Miracle, the blind Eye opened, the dead Heart quickened, and the Heart wholly changed? *He that believeth hath the Witness in himself,* 1 John v. 10. Oh to be raised from Hell to Heaven!

7. I HAVE likewise been thinking what this Storm immediately ensuing should mean; my being cast down into Hell, after lifting up to Heaven. It was 1. To let me see the Evil of mine own Heart, and exceeding Sinfulness thereof, by the Murmuring and fierce Resistance I made, I perceive that by Nature I am bitter Enemy to God, full of Poison: To humble me, and make me acknowledge his Grace and Love the more. 2. To be a Ground of Faith when in like Straits again, and to have a Proof of his Power; the LORD in my Extremity, when there was no Appearance of Help, when there was nothing in me but Forwardness and Rebellion, when I cried, yet pitied me, conquering both my Sin and Misery: And why should I doubt Him now again? He ever helped me when in Extremity, yea, when my Case was most desperate. 3. To acquaint me with the LORD's Ways of Conversion, and with his Terrors, that I might be a better Guide unto others. 4. That God might by me shew a Pattern of all Long-suffering, who obtained Mercy being so wild. 5. To shew his Justice as He is the Governor of the World. I was very Wicked, and by the Law deserved severe Punishment; I trampled on God's Kindness and Goodness: And therefore did the righteous LORD make me find Sin bitter, and for this Cause delivered me over to Satan; He took in his own Hand and corrected me, not willing that I should die and be condemned with the World.

8. I WILL conclude with remarking some Instructions and Lessons I learned from these Providences. 1. There is ordinarily in the Day of Espousals something extraordinary of God's Love and Glory manifested; the fatted Calf is killed when first the Prodigal is brought Home. No less can assure them of their Father's Love, nor take away their Wildness, and make them comply with their new Life: Hence, *Hosea ii. 15. I will make thee sing as in the Days when I brought thee out of the Land of Egypt.* 2. The Soul in Conversion closeth chiefly with the Person of *Christ, Jer. iv. 1. If thou wilt return, return to Me*; and the not doing hereof is complained of, *Hosea vii. 16. They return, but not to the most High.* 3. Grace makes a great, wonderful and universal Change, changing the outward Life and inward Frame. *All things are new*; new Prayers, new Love, new Company, new Opinions and new Principles: A Man is much different from what he was, not only while a profane Man, but even while a civil or moral Man. 4. There may be much Corruption to be mortified in a Soul newly brought in to God: For notwithstanding all this Diligence, Delight in Duties and Joy, I was full of Ignorance, Unbelief; selfish, proud, conceited and light. Grace is indeed but small when it begins; little Faith, Patience and rooted Love. 5. Continued Kindness to the LORD speaks no more than any particular Enjoyment, tho' never so extraordinary, *Mark the perfect Man's End*; see what all-ends in. Conclude not peremptorily from Beginnings of any, either as to Good or Evil; I could build little on this, If I did not see it backed with an After-tract of Holiness. 6. God Himself is more eminently seen, in the Mercies of his People, than Instruments; and therefore ordinarily none doth Good but Himself; and that not in the Way,
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Thing, Manner and Time they propose unto themselves, but as he proposes. 7. It is possible Folks may meet with more sharp Convictions after Conversion than before, especially if they have not been well hammered with the Law, *Heb. x. 32.* *After ye were enlightened, ye endured a great Fight of Afflictions:* Which are not to be confined to outward, but inward likewise. But tho' they create Sorrow and Discouragements unto themselves, yet have not they received this Spirit of Bondage, but the Spirit of Adoption; and they may come to GOD as a Father: Preternaturally, indeed, and thro' Mistakes and Corruptions, it is hindered that it vents not itself in these filial Motions; and so they may be troubled with this Spirit of Bondage: Howsoever they received it not of GOD; *Perfect Love casteth out Fear, 1 John iv. 18.* it is not their Allowance.

SOMETIME after I fell into a sad Decay both of Life and Consolation; the Steps of it were these.

STEP I. Was Unbelief and Doubting of my Interest in GOD, and of his Love, thro' a wrong Construction of Providences, and Ignorance of the Covenant of Grace; so as I was in *Job's* Condition; tho' I had prayed, and GOD had answered me, yet could I not believe it; I could not believe I was so Happy as to be Converted: And, having such sad Thoughts of myself, I had a bad Construction of GOD and all his Ways to me, inasmuch as I thought GOD did in Wrath take away my Terrors. Ah! said I, Time was when the LORD was taking Pains with me, and did lay Siege with the Law against my Soul; He put me in his Fire and Furnace, but now will He take no more Care of me; now hath He raised his Siege, and given me over: Oh miserable Man that I am! I

am left now to the judicial Plague of an hard Heart; I am to pine out the rest of my Days in Vanity, Sin and Trouble: And when my Heart was easier, this, said I, is but to make me Secure; it is but a Delusion: Which had these sad Effects upon my Soul; 1. Strange and hard Thoughts of GOD as of an Enemy, as One that envied our Good. 2. I judged all that GOD said of his Love in his Word to be but Compliments or Snares to intrap; and so made him a Liar, and by this Means was made incapable to be taken with *Christ's* Allurements in the Gospel. 3. Hence I could neither love nor believe Him, nor by any Means be drawn to Him: For how could I love Him in whom I believed I had no other Interest than that of a cruel Judge ready to condemn, and watching for Evil against me. 4. I had no Will to keep Communion with Him. When the *Israelites* said, *We have no Portion or Inheritance from the Sons of Jesse*, the next was, *Every Man to his Tents*. *Jer. iii. 19. Thou shalt call me, My Father, and shalt not depart from me.* 5. I was heartless or slight in Duties, whereby He was honoured, and Communion with Him entertained; wanting Love and Hope. Thro' Unbelief my Hands were weakened, and I departed from the living GOD. 6. Finding no Satisfaction in GOD, which I could not do whilst these Principles remained. *Jer. ii. 12. Forsaking GOD the Fountain of living Waters, I bowed broken Cisterns.*

STEP 2. Notwithstanding all this, I had Hopes, that yet I might be converted, and therefore did not despair. Some secret Thoughts in Duties would drop in perswading me to hope, and some Relish in Duties: Likewise, since I was perswaded by a strong Hand my Sins were pardonable; this made me continue in the Means. *Satan* sought to beat me from this, or at least to make me remiss in

in them; and, knowing that palpable Vanities would not do (for I had been burnt with that Candle already) he would compass this by making me close with an Appearance of Good, which he did thus: I studied Short-hand, in the Study of which, aiming at Perfection in it, I was excessive and so taken up altogether from any other Thing, that I could scarce get the Form of Duties gone about twice a Day. In the End I resolved to give Way, cheated with this, that, the sooner I acquired Knowledge herein, I should the sooner have Leisure to wait on GOD; but however, this Spirit of Whoredom caused me to err, and took away my Heart.

STEP 3. When I was called Home, thro' Want of godly Company, and dead formal Society among which I lived, I was brought a further Length of Decay, even to omit Duties almost altogether; contenting myself ordinarily with Bed-prayers, and slight Reading of Scripture and godly Books. Several Things had Influence on this; the Want of a convenient Room, a prevailing Spirit of Sloth that would not break thro' Difficulties, some false Hopes that all would be well: Sometimes my Heart would secretly despair, and prophesy Things would never be better, and it is in vain to pray; thro' these Things it came to pass that my Heart turned altogether out of Tune, and heeded not my Work at all.

STEP 4. Then, thro' Want of the Fear of GOD, and Unwatchfulness, did I become vain and light in my Conversation; I followed Lies and Vanities; complied with sinful Customs, made no Conscience of what Company I came into, *inventing to myself Instruments of Musick*, seeking Content from the Creature. When Company was away, my Heart

turned melancholly, but did not turn to God. I would pray when visited with any Disappointments; but still thro' Interruption, lost more Ground than I gained, so as I went daily down the Stream, and grew exceeding hard-hearted: Spiritual Duties were a Weariness and a Burden: and thus I was not only discouraged and remiss in Duties, slighting them altogether, but grew very untender and carnal in my Conversion.

WHENCE I took a *fifth* Step, which was, going to some Relations to pass a Visit, where there were many Professors and much Profession; there I got a dead Stroke, so as it is a Wonder how I ever recovered.

6. MY Sins were, 1. Slighting and omitting of Duties publick and private. 2. Vain and light Conversation like the World; the Shew of my Countenance witnessed against me. 3. Idle Jest-ing. 4. Breaking the Sabbath with Idleness and mine own Words. 5. Following the Lusts of the Flesh and divers Vanities. 6. Sensuality. 7. Doing no Good, neither glorifying God, nor edifying others, nor profiting myself.

7. NOTWITHSTANDING of this, the LORD upheld me by his Right-hand, and kept in the dying Spark, that all these Waters could not quite extinguish it; I fell not totally away, nor was I utterly forsaken of GOD, *Jer. v. 5.* For these Things remained; 1. I did pray, meditate and read now and then; I was not driven altogether from Duties; I did not shew myself to have no Knowledge at all, in not calling on God, *Psalms xiv. 4.* 2. There remained a secret and quiet Hope, Things would be well, and a Looking up to Him; tho' *cast down, yet not in Despair.* 3. Love and Affec-
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tion to and Estimation of the People of God, and Delight in them, still remained. 4. Disatisfiedness with my present Condition, groaning under and mourning when I remembered the Days of old; this Course was not pleasant, I was like a Bone out of Joint; these Matters were not my Element. 5. Some Love to my first Husband remained, and a preferring of the first Course even in its worst before this; even as one prefers the Day to the Night: And often would I say that Word, with *Job*, *O that it were with me as in Months past, when the Candle of the LORD shined upon my Head!* *Job xxix. 2, 3, 4.* 6. I knew that it was ill with me; tho' I slept, yet I was not so dead as to be without Sense or Knowledge altogether.

8. THESE Things had Influence on my Decay mainly; 1. Want of outward and inward Afflictions: I had *no Changes, therefore feared not God*, *Psalms lv. 19.* The Spurs were out of my Side, Terrors wear away, which drove me to Duty. 2. In respect of the Decay of that inward Sweetness which accompanied Duty formerly; GOD, having brought me out of *Egypt* into the Wilderness, had withdrawn that. 3. Many Temptations from within and from without, which the LORD kept up before. Now the LORD let out my original Corruption, and I found nothing but a dead hard Heart from within, and Discouragement from without, and this made the Way more hard. 4. The powerful Means were removed; the good Company and powerful Sermons were gone which did feed me. 5. Godless Company that had no Grace, that did eat out all Religion out of me. 6. The formal, carnal and lifeless Conversation of some (much cried up) Professors made me even despair. 7. Too eagerly following of lawful Com-

forts, and Employments and Studies. 8. Growing remiss in the Exercise of Duties, especially of private Prayer and Meditation. 9. Not looking to Ills in the Beginning, but letting them run on; not heeding Things, or considering my Ways, but sleeping: And therefore became my Garden overspread with Thorns.



C H A P. III.

Of my Recovery from Darkneſs.

THE LORD did not raise me all at once out of my backsliden Condition, nor without Interruption, but very leisurely. The Seed was sown, and it grew; and I knew not how. As it was sown with little Noise, so did it grow up quietly, and had many Interruptions and Winters, going backward and forward; like the filling Sea, some Waves gained Ground, and some succeeding lost and abated, but a new Overflowing regained all. There would come a Wave of the Spirit that would overflow largely, but after that a little Ebb; and then, when I little expected, there would come a Wave that would set me as far forward as ever again; and then a little Decay, and then a Recovery, so as for a long Time I was tossed up and down like a Locust wearied of myself, and of my Life, and Righteousness, and Enlargements of Heart, and of all these Glories. I was after Humiliation of Heart, by a strong yet quiet Hand, at the Command of God, with little Din
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made to believe and rest on *Christ*, so as I had never done before; and in Process of Time, the LORD had almost perfected his Work before I had thought He had well begun. The Way and Steps of this my Recovery were,

STEP 1. After I had long departed from GOD, and so gone far away, the LORD made me unsatisfied with my present Condition; even in this laughing Madness was my Heart sorrowful: And when in my Jollity, any Time I thought on my former State, I would say, Oh what a sad Condition am I in now! *Oh that it were with me as in Months past!* Oh that I were under *Christ's* Terror again! His Glooms were better than this at best.

STEP 2. I had Thoughts to return to my first Husband, but was beaten from this with the Apprehensions that it was not Time; and hence it became a great Case to me, whether the LORD may assault a Soul with a Spirit of Conviction, and leave it, and come again? Sometimes I thought I was judicially hardened, and my Time gone; but the LORD did take the Thorn away, and made me hope, by casting a Book into my Hand which did write of Compunction; and he states the Case, viz. *Whether a Man once under Convictions, and these dying without Fruit, can be again converted?* He determined it affirmatively, with such Reasons as then convinced me, so as I resolved to try, tho' I found therein a great Difficulty.

STEP 3. Was the setting about the Means, with Prayer, Reading and Meditation. I rested not in bare fruitless Wishings, but I was helped to set myself to seek the LORD, tho' with Difficulty. I continued praying Morning and Evening for some Time,

Time, and preparing my Heart, notwithstanding all my Discouragements and Indisposition and little Success; for my Heart continued hard, dead and blind, and Conversation carnal, and Duties were a Burden to me.

STEP 4. Having for some twenty Days prayed, mourned and complained, and not finding any Life, but my Deadness increasing, and hearing no Word of *Christ*, I begun to have Suspicions that Sentence indeed was passed against me, and that I was sealed under the Plague of an hard Heart; and was tempted to cast aside Duties as vain: And then I said, Oh poor Soul, thou wilt never get so much as a tender Heart again, nor so much as once to pour out this thy Soul to GOD before thou die. While I was thus exercised, the LORD was pleased to let me again taste some of the Sweetness of Duties; for one Time I went in the Multitude of my Thoughts to the LORD in Prayer, and it pleased the Spirit to blow, and to open my Heart, so as I prayed with Abundance of Tears and great Liberty, and I found much Sweetness in the Work: Now, altho' I was not satisfied with this, yet I was comforted, in that it was a Proof to me that the LORD had not quite forsaken me, and that after this there would come better.

STEP 5. I begun to fall more closely to Work, and put other Sails on, and more Irons in the Fire; then did I write Diaries, make Vows and Covenants, and fall to the Work of Self-examination, and write some infant Notions of practical Divinity, and my Meditations on several Texts, which did me Good, and at first helped me forward.

STEP 6. The LORD by Duties wearied me with them, mortified me to my Self-righteousness, and did

did with Labour bring down my Heart. 1. He discovered unto me, and let me feel the Evil and Power of my Heart: Then did I groan under the Burden of a dead, blind and carnal Heart, and the Body of Death was my great Exercise, and Heart-ills, especially Hardness of Heart: And thus more sensibly than ever I was wearied and burdened with my Heart, though not in Horror. 2. The LORD let me see the Sinfulness of all my Duties and best Actions; the Formality, Lifelessness, and corrupt Principles whence they proceeded, and my great Short-comings, so as I knew these were not my Saviours, and turned mine Eyes from them. 3. I was wearied with myself, my Sins and Duties, dragged through various Dispensations, and burdened with fruitless Labour: I saw I could not put my Heart in a Frame, nor keep my Heart in a Frame when it was in it, but still did break my Resolutions. My Duties yielded neither Peace nor Satisfaction, nor did they mortify Sin; for I was but rowing against the Stream, and after a long Time worse in my own Conceit than before: I was dying sometimes, and living again; when like to die, the LORD would look upon me and put it in my Heart to seek Him, and would send down Influences, and enlarge my Soul with Love and Desires after Himself, and Sorrow for Sin, and new Resolutions; and this would quicken me for a While, and make me hope and seek the LORD. And then again my Soul would be over-clouded, and I would turn unwatchful, and fall to my ordinary Sins, and depart from the LORD: And with this I was vexed, because my Resolutions were broken; and I was discouraged, and despaired ever to come up; and was weakened, thinking, how shall I look the LORD in the Face? What Security can I now give Him for my Behaviour? Yet, whilst thus discouraged, not knowing what to do, and unable
to

to think of what might do me Good, GOD would shine in upon my Soul; and among a hundred Visits of this Kind He gave me, and by which He many Times restored my dying Heart to Life, He was pleased still to come out and create a new Thing, some new Ground, and the Floods would still increase. How often have I said, Now, sure the LORD will come, and will not tarry; now I shall keep fast what I have. But I was deceived: *All Flesh is Grass, and the Glory thereof withereth.* I have said sometimes in my Extremity, Now, what is it that can quicken me? Surely I can never recover out of this, though GOD should open Windows in Heaven. Then would the LORD shew his Power and Condescendency, and would quicken me, and put away my Fears, and make me look chearful, and cause me to put on new Resolutions. In a Word, I was thus wearied and burdened in a Wilderness for the Space of three full Years, and poured from Vessel to Vessel.

STEP 7. When all failed, and that I was at the Point of Dying, the LORD would send some extraordinary Thing, some fit Word, some good Book, that would quicken me and strengthen me sometimes to spend half Nights in Prayer. Sometimes, meeting with other Christians, the LORD would rain some seasonable Word; and Nothing did me more good than Stories relating to GOD's Dealing with others. Likewise, being in the South, the LORD visited me with a powerful Ministry, which did keep in my dying Life, and greatly encouraged me; many a Time was my swooning Life revived, and I brought from the Gates of Death. These Waterings insensibly sanctified me more and more both in Heart and Conversation, and made heavenly Things relish with my Soul; and by them I was made more capable to

to receive the LORD, and my Eyes therewith kept waking.

STEP 8. After I was thus humbled, I proceeded another Step, even to resign myself to the LORD. It was occasioned by reading a Sermon of Mr. *Andrew Gray's*, on these Words, *My Son, give me thy Heart*. I cried out, "O LORD, though I cannot command this evil Heart to Thee; yet, if I have Power or Right of it, I here legally renounce that Right in thy Favour, and make over myself to Thee, and all that is within me: Now, LORD, take me at my Word, and take Advantage of this to claim me as thine own; accept the real Motions of my Will: O that *Christ* would now look on me as His, and make Use of this Right!" In the Strength of this I walked for some Time, tho' it did not always satisfy; yet I could always say, "LORD, Thou offerest Thyself to me, and I cannot take Thee; LORD, I likewise offer myself to Thee, Thou mayst take me, but wilt not: Oh! others take Advantage of my Bargains; O that *Christ* would do so, and challenge a Claim and Right to me! LORD, Thou sayst Thou art willing to do me Good; LORD, I offer myself to Thee to do with me what Thou wilt; only let me not be guided by myself." Here came I, and I did stick and wrestle for some Time, striving to come forth. This was in *July*, and I continued 'till the latter End of *August* thus.

FROM which I observe this: 1. That Folk may contract by Backsliding what they will not in a very long Time recover again, and the Dregs of it may remain after they are indeed begun to return to the LORD: The Security and Indispositions I then contracted, I am not free from yet. 2. A Man's

Man's whole Life is but a Conversion; and the LORD after every Kind of Backsliding draws after the same Way as at the first Conversion, yea, and deals so with them as they may seem never to have been converted before. Yea, I found a more distinct preparatory Work after my first Drawing than ever before: For the LORD did Things in a Clap at first, and in a very little Time did let me see that I was undone, that I was not converted, nor could convert myself; and the Insufficiency of Duties and an unconverted Condition, with GOD's Wrath, had some Impressions on my Spirit: And then the LORD revealed *Christ* unto me, on whom I believed, and with whom I closed. But now the LORD did draw me very clearly, and did insist in every Step so, as that all the Knowledge I have of the Works of Preparations, I have it from what I met with after I knew *Christ*, more than from what I met with at first. 3. The strongest, last and bitterest Enemy the LORD hath, and which He abhorreth most, is spiritual Pride; against this He setteth Himself mainly, I mean, the vain-glorious Folk have in their own Strength, and their own Righteousness. It is hard to get our high Conceits down, and to glorify GOD and make Use of his Righteousness. It is easy to let a Man see he is not converted, that he cannot save himself; but it is hard persuading him that he can do Nothing, not so much as be thankful for the least Mercy: Ye will not persuade him to live, and live only in, to, and by another, and submit himself, his Will in all Things to GOD. 4. It is the Frequency and Constancy of GOD's Waterings that doth Good, rather than any Measure of a particular Visitation; and from this more Love may be gathered, *John xv. 7. If my Words abide in you. He that endureth to the End shall be saved.* 5. Un-

watch-

watchfulness is a constant and deadly Evil, prejudicial to a Progress in Grace.

MEANTIME the LORD intending to settle me, made me learn to live by Faith. The Way and Manner whereof, as I remember, I shall set down; which was the last Step of my Recovery.

I. FINDING no Rest still, I began to be sorrowful and disconsolate, and, like *Pharaoh's* Chariots, to drive on heavily. I continued waiting in the Means; and one Day, as I was reading, I read these Words in *Haggai* ii. 17. *I smote ye in all the Labour of your Hands, yet ye turned not to Me, saith the LORD.* I applied this spiritually; that is, thought I, GOD hath smitten me in all my Labours, Duties, Resolutions and Vows, and for all this I turned not to GOD: But wherein am I not turned? Have I not left my Sins, mourned, prayed, read and meditated? What remains yet to be done? What Duty or Mean do I slight? What Pains, in my Power, have I with-holden? I therefore cast mine Eyes upon all Duties; and, while I was thus searching, some blessed Motion was suggested to me, That I had all my Life-time slighted the Duty of Believing, and had not turned to GOD by Faith; therefore, until this thou do, GOD will ever continue smiting thee in all the Labours of thy Hand, *for without Faith it is impossible to please GOD:* And it hath been the Want of this, and this only, that hath blasted thee in all thine Endeavours. Faith, quoth I astonished, what is this! LORD, now keep me from a Delusion. Yes, Faith, of which so much is spoken in Scripture, that is the main Grace, said the Spirit. These Things made me some Way apprehensive of the Matter.

2. I NOW found that Faith had a great Place in Religion; and withal, looking to myself, I found that I had very little practised it, and was as great a Stranger to it as these Disciples, *Acts* xix. 1, 2. were to the Knowledge of the Holy Ghost: I knew not what it was, nor had formerly exercised it, or distinctly and expressly heard of it; for this ill Principle remained with me, *viz.* I believed that none should believe but Persons so and so qualified, which until I could find, I thought I was to lie in my Prison and mourn.

3. THE LORD did convince me fully that I should believe, and that it was the Duty of every one: For, as I said before, I thought that only Persons so and so qualified were bound to believe; but the merciful LORD Himself did unloose this Knot, by calling me to Him, convincing me that it was my Duty so to do; and thereby the Chains wherewith *Satan* had for a long Time bound me, and kept me from the distinct Exercise and Life of Faith, were broken: And that which is wonderful is, I heard it an hundred Times pressed in Sermons to believe, and yet until that Day was never persuaded it was my Duty to believe, nor never minded that Exercise at all. The Grounds whereby I was then persuaded to believe, or that Believing was my Duty, yea, and that all were bound to believe, which was the first Point, were these:

1. That Scripture, *1 John* iii. 23. *This is his Commandment, that ye believe on the Name of the Son of God.* Then it is commanded, concluded I; and why is it not Duty? Nay, is it not the great Command? Dost thou question that Prayer is thy Duty? Truly it is thy Duty, because commanded: Then Faith, or Receiving of *Christ*, being commanded likewise, it is thy Duty as well as Prayer. —
2. Wicked unregenerate Men are commanded to believe;

believe; and it is the great Duty, more acceptable to GOD than any thou canst perform, *John vi. 28. What is the Work of GOD, that we should work it?* The Answer, Verse 29. was very contrary to their Expectations: *This is the Work of GOD, that ye believe on Him whom He hath sent:* This is the first, the great Command, and a Command tying even such as were the *Jews*. 3. That Scripture was brought to my Mind, *Rom. iv. 20. Abraham by believing glorified GOD,* compared with *Numb. xx. 12. Because ye believed not, to sanctify my Name before this People, therefore ye shall not bring this People into the Land promised.* Now, seeing Believing glorifies GOD, thou art bound unto it; for every Man is bound to glorify GOD: Who questions this? Believing glorifies GOD, in acknowledging his Power, Goodness, and rich Grace. 4. The Spirit urged this Argument, The Wicked are punished for not believing, therefore it is their Duty to believe. See *Psalms lxxviii. 32, 33. He consumed their Days in Vanity, because they believed not on Him;* and so shall He do with Thee if thou do not believe. 5. This was confirmed to me by the first Scripture, and by the Language of some Providences: What else could I call my continual Disappointments and fruitless Labours, but a Call to me to try what this might do? My Days were consumed, and therefore by my Stroke I might read my Sin.

4. THE LORD having by these persuaded and convinced me that it was my Duty to believe, and rolled this Stone away from the Sepulchre; He proceeded next to answer my manifold Objections, which then did begin to swarm and keep me from believing. The main were: 1. I cannot believe, and therefore why am I called to believe? It is the Gift of GOD, and why should I hammer out a Faith of

my own Bowels? This will not be accepted. It was answer'd, The LORD, by thus drawing and inviting thee, gives thee Power to come, as it was when He called on dead *Lazarus* to live and come forth. And besides, thou canst not sanctify a Sabbath, nor pray; yet it is thy Duty, and thou goest about it as thou canst; so do here. Yea, to the Wearied it is not impossible. A second Objection was, I fear I may presume. It was answered, To believe, in Obedience to a Command, is no Presumption: When thou receivest *Christ*, and in this Act believest on and retest in Him for Pardon, this being Obedience cannot be Presumption, for it is no Presumption to obey GOD; to believe uncalled, is Presumption, or unwarrantable. — *Objection 3.* I am not enough humbled, my Heart is dead and hard, and I am altogether insensible of my Condition, and therefore how can I be called to believe? For it is the *Weary* and *Heavy-laden* that are called to come. It was answered, It may be so, but this gives no Right to come; it is the Call and Command of GOD, and Gospel-Others, which give a Right, and not any Qualification: Thou art miserable, and naked, and wild; all is true: But how can it be otherwise, when thou hast lived at such a Distance from *Christ*, who is the Fountain of Life? If thou wouldst believe, He would give thee what thou wantest; there is no other Way of receiving Life, but by coming to Him, *John v. 40.* *Objection 4.* But I cannot prize *Christ*, nor am I prepared. It was answered, That as Faith fetches all from Him, so fetches it prizing of Him too; for if Faith fetches all from *Christ*, then it brings Nothing to *Christ* but Deadness, Blindness and Sinfulness: Come to Him for Grace to prize Him; if thou once wouldst believe, then *Christ* would be precious to thee, *1 Pet. ii. 7.* Emptiness is the best Qualification: *The Hungry*
He

He filleth with good Things, but the Rich He sendeth away empty. There is no more required than what makes thee willing to accept Him; if therefore thou be willing to accept *Christ*, thou prizest Him sufficiently, and art sufficiently prepared. —

Objection 5. Thou findest no glorious Power drawing thee. It was answered, Yet I find the LORD in his Word calling me, and this is as sufficient a Ground to thee as though He came personally and visibly here and desired this of thee; and therefore do now what thou wouldst do then.

I CONFESS, by answering these Objections, and by other Arguments, the LORD did sensibly and seasonably, and with a strong Hand, convince me that it is my Duty to believe. Oh, will He take such a vile Worm as I! Yes, He will; for thou art the fittest Person in the World for Him to glorify his Grace on. The LORD did incessantly follow me with these Thoughts, yea, I found a sensible Power dealing with me.

5. THE LORD did also by suitable Providences back the Call of his Word upon my Spirit; for on a Day of private Humiliation it was my ordinary Way to read *Heb. xi.* and the First Epistle of *Peter*, where so much is spoken of Faith. Then all Scripture concerning Faith, and Treatises speaking thereof, and Meditations of it, were sweet, which now I began to understand. I was now come as it were to a new World, and there was such a Stir upon my Spirit as I never found the like before: Fain would I believe, but ah I could not! I found a Spirit of Resistance, there was a Blindness upon my Eyes; I knew not what Believing was, nor on whom. On the one Hand, the LORD by his Commands, Motives, earnest Invitations, Promises, and answering Objections,

yea, and terrible Threatnings in Case of Unbelief, was pushing me forward, and that speedily; for all Doors were shut but this of Faith: For I could neither pray nor do any Thing, in Respect of the Sinfulness of it without Faith, and therefore this behoved to be my first Work. On the other Hand, Ignorance of *Christ*, and of the Duty of Believing, and Fear of Presumption and believing on my own Strength, did toss me like a Ball; I knew not what to do, but like a weak Child stuck in the Birth: Oh, said I, how can I believe! LORD, *help my Unbelief*, and pity me, Thou who hast been with me so wonderfully through the great and terrible Wilderness, and brought me even to the Borders of the good Land; O help here! Well, said the LORD, do but rely on *Christ* for Life with Confidence that He will help thee. In this and to this I found some Strength, and then I endeavoured it, and said, Behold, I come to Thee, LORD, do not Thou cast me off. But the LORD said, Come not only to see what *Christ* will do with Thee, but likewise rest upon and believe from his Goodness that He will do all that Thou standest in Need of. Well then, answered my Heart, since it is so, I will take my Hazard, and on Thee I cast myself, come of it what will. And verily that which seemed in my most serious Exercise to be the Notion of Faith by which I closed with *Christ* was, a certain Kind of Persuasion and Rest in it, that I had, the LORD would do me Good, and help me in all Things: And the great Thing that was pressed upon me was, not to doubt of *Christ*, especially his Good-will; in which in some Measure I rested*.

AFTER

* I dare not say, this Account of Faith is more agreeable to St. Paul's, Heb. xi. 1. (nor so agreeable) than that he gives in the second Chapter.

AFTER much Struggle, Well, said I, O LORD, since it is so, that I must of Necessity believe, against Sense and Reason, and as I can, I do give my Soul to Thee, and Trust thou wilt save me from all my Sins; and though this be counted Presumption, yet I will trust in Him: I was much strengthened herein from *Job xiii. 15. Though He kill me, yet will I trust in Him: Tho' all Things seem to cry, despair and die, and tho' for my Presumption He should kill me, yet I will trust in Him; and now, LORD, since I have sealed this Bargain, and closed with Thee, send Strength, not for any Thing in me, but because I am thy Servant, that I may honour Thee my Master.*

6. I HAD no sooner spoken these Words, but the LORD revealed Himself and his Love. Then were my Eyes opened to see Love in all Dispensations. Oh, this was an Heart-ravishing Consideration! The LORD, that followed me many a weary Day, never rested 'till He had compleated his Work with me, and 'till He had engaged me to believe. O the Love of *Christ*! If *Christ* had no Power to help a poor Sinner, but had Love, He would even die over it.

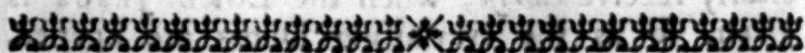
7. FROM this I observe, 1. That before ever a Soul can believe, he must be called of GOD; for else no Man would, could or should come. 2. That the immediate End of effectual Calling is to receive *Christ* by Faith, or to believe in and rest on Him for all Things, *John vi. 28. Matt. xxii. 3. Isa. lv. 1.* For tho' the Saints be said to be called to Heaven, to Peace, to be holy; yet is not this the immediate End of effectual Calling, but, as I said, to receive *Jesus Christ* and all Things freely offered in the Gospel. 3. This Call is inward as well as outward, borne in upon our Spirit; GOD deals with

with the Heart, for the outward Call will never do alone. 4. This Call is a glorious Call, and stamped with Majesty and Authority. As it is the LORD that calls, so doth He stamp his own Name on it, so that the Soul knows it is GOD that is dealing with him: And so, *where the Word of a King is, there is Power; and who may say unto Him, What dost Thou?* 5. Faith is neither to love *Christ*, or to be content to take Him; for that is wrought already; (to love a Person, and to be content to marry him, is not Marriage; it is but a Disposition to Marriage) nor yet to believe that He is able to save, or to hope; but it is to believe on *Christ*, that He is yours, and will bestow Himself and all Things on you; and when thus you believe, you have it: Or, it is a cordial Assent, and particular Application of the Promises, giving *Christ* and all his Benefits. Give but a particular and cordial Assent to the Gospel, and that is Believing; and he never heard the Gospel, to whom it spoke not this. 6. True Humiliation doth not consist in legal Terrors, nor yet in the Continuance of Terrors; else the Damned should be most humbled: Rather in a Conviction of the Want of all Things, raising a Dissatisfaction with the present Condition, and a Despair of Self, and a justifying of GOD in all Matters. Yea, the truest Preparations for *Christ* are a Sense and Conviction of Vileness, and Guiltiness, Deadness, Hardness, and Blindness, and a Weariedness with the World and Duties and the evil Heart. 7. Tho' all be humbled, all are not alike humbled; so, though all Believers be drawn to *Christ* and united to Him, yet are not all drawn in the same Manner to *Christ*: To some Heaven as it were is opened, the LORD revealing the Glory of *Jesus* to them, so as they leave All in a Moment, and come flying to Him; the Soul is so over-powered; that it cannot but

but cleave to the LORD JESUS. There are others that are under deep Horrors, and brought down to Hell, and distracted with Terrors; and *Christ* is lovely as one that saves from Wrath and Hell: Necessity makes them flee to the City of Refuge. Some under the Sense of a dead, blind, empty Heart, flee to Him for Life and Eye-salve more expressly. Some find they cannot come; they desire the LORD to bring them. Some by the Sense of a Command desperately venture, and their Faith is an Act of Wilfulness, *Job* xiii. 15. Some come to *Christ*, and they hang (having his Promise, *That whosoever comes, He will in no wise cast off*) by Expectations, Hope and Desire, until a greater Window be opened in Heaven; and then they clearly receive *Christ*, when the LORD JESUS is given, so as the everlasting Doors are opened. Some close with *Christ* by Way of Marriage Consent and Contract, *Christ* overcoming the Heart by Love. 8. The Soul in believing closes with the Person of *Christ*, and closes with Him only and for ever; to come to *Christ* for his Benefits only, is not a personal Love; to come to *Christ*, but not to Him only, is an adulterous Marriage; to come to Him for some Time, and not for ever, is but to give *Christ* a Visit, not to marry Him. 9. The whole Life of a Man is a continued Conversion to GOD, in which he is perpetually humbled under a Sense of Sin, and draws nearer and nearer to GOD with more fervent Faith and Love, and daily walks closer and closer with the LORD, endeavouring at Perfection, *Matt.* xviii. 3. *Luke* xxii. 32. *Prov.* xxiii. 26. *Cant.* iv. 8. *Psalms* lxiv. 7. And GOD doth as it were act over and over again his Work in the Heart, forming his People more exactly than before: And therefore no Wonder they meet with Something like a second, yea, and a third and fourth Conversion; especially where there are

Back-

Backslidings. 10. *The Kingdom of Heaven*, either outward or inward, *cometh not with Observation*. The Foundations of the Temple may be Matter of Mourning, and little Glory seen therein; *The Day of small Things*; a great Stream may proceed from a small Fountain. The LORD comes not in the Thunder nor Earthquake, but in the *still Voice*. We think like *Naaman*, that when God comes to the Heart, He will appear in visible Glory: And sometimes He doth; yet at other Times his Voice is not heard in the Streets, and He *groweth as a tender Plant out of the dry Ground*, and there is little Beauty seen in Him. What a poor Beginning was all this of a Life of Faith?



C H A P. IV.

Of my Progress, and Growth, and Establishment in the Ways of God.

I CONTINUED in some Peace for ten Days Time, but had not the Impressions of Joy I had in the Beginning, so deep upon my Spirit as at first; there came a Cloud and overshadowed me thus:

1. I liked Ease and Rest; and now, when the LORD had broken my Bonds and Yoke, I thought there was no more for me to do, I dreamed of no Cloud or Night: And since the Main was secured, I did not apprehend such a Necessity of Labour, but would have been sleeping in my Nest; or else if I must needs pray and fight, I desired to be taken

ken up into *Christ's* Arms as I was at first, and to be passive, and *Christ* to do all, *Hof.* xi. 3. *Pf.* xxx. 6. I said, like *Peter*, It is good to be here; and, Let us make a Tabernacle: Untill a Cloud over-shadowed me, which when it did, I expecting in vain *Christ's* Return in the same Manner. Then not finding Peace nor Rest in God, because I would not dig for it, I strove to have it from the World, and therefore turned slothful, and for some Time followed Vanities, seeking Rest; untill (reproved) I went to Prayer, but got no Good. I took up *Shepherd's Sound Believer*, and there read this Question, *How shall I know whether my whole Soul hath come to Christ?* He answers, "When *Christ* alone gives sufficient Satisfaction, so as there is no Need of Idols and Lusts." Ah! said I, I do not thus; for my Heart runs out continually after Idols. How couldst thou think (said Conscience) that wast so dead, to close with *Christ* with the whole Soul? Have not the Effects discovered thy Unsoundness and Hypocrisy? See to the Whorishness and Adulteries of thy Heart, and by that judge of thy Love in marrying *Christ*: Doth not thy Unsteadiness in his Covenant prove that thy Heart was not right with God at first, and that thou liedst unto Him when thou closedst with him as the Rock of thy Salvation? Upon this I concluded, that all my Life-time I was in a Delusion, which made the Sky very black. This Temptation was so violent there was no resisting it, whereby my Heart became sorrowful, strengthless and discouraged: Oh! what shall I, nay what can I do now? Can I bestow more Pains than I did? To have known before, while I suspected no less, that I was wrong, would not so have shaken me; as, after some Assurance of Favour, to be cast down to Hell; Heart and Hand were taken away from me; I did not reason the Matter, but yielded

yielded easily and quickly: Now were my Foundations shaken, and a Breach made as to my Interest in GOD, and in the Grounds which the LORD had made me lay; a whole Sea followed. But this was not enough: *Satan* was let out upon me, to trouble me with atheistical Thoughts, which had like Serpents been hissing, and had appeared, but were quieted tho' not killed; a certain Token that they would, when Occasion offered, break out most violently. Oh! said I, what a Delusion have I been in? I was never convinced nor humbled, nay, I think never convinced that there was a GOD, or that his Word was true.

Now the LORD leaving me, and being naturally melancholy, atheistical Temptations were driven most violently upon me, upon which great and sensible Horror fell upon my Spirit; which arose, not so much from the Thoughts of this that there was no GOD, as from the Thoughts that myself was an Atheist, and that I had not a demonstrative Argument for proving effectually that there is a GOD. Oh! miserable Creature, cried I, that perish'd not when under Horror, before I had known any Thing of God! but to live 'till now, 'till I had contracted more Guilt and Punishment! O happy when I thought I had sinned the Sin against the Holy Ghost! For then there were Hopes, that while I believed the Scriptures, by them I might be persuaded that I had not sinned it; but now no Remedy is left: When the Foundations are loosed, what Means can I use? To whom shall I go, when I doubt the Being of God? How shall I be convinced? How shall I pray?

Look-

LOOKING to the Remedilessness of my Condition, and the Sadness of this Providence, my melancholy Thoughts, of which *Satan* made his Use, represented GOD as terrible to me, as One who had been watching all my Life-time to do me Evil, and that was now manifesting that hid Displeasure against me which He bore me this long Time. I thought, or apprehended, GOD's Wrath was more at my Person than Faults; in a Word, GOD was fearful to me, so that I was all taken to Pieces and disjointed.

THIS Fire made the Scum and Filth of Rebellion, and that Hatred that was in my Heart against GOD, appear: My natural Corruptions were stirred more violently than ever; the reading of Scripture and Prayer had no Taste, nay, these Means were terrible to me. Oh how happy was it (said I) when under my first Terrors, to what I am at this Time! While Terrors formerly were upon me, I could delight in Prayer and other Means, which were exceeding sweet unto me; but now, alas! Duties are a Burden, a Wearisomeness and Terror unto me, and occasionally increase my Trouble: For, whenever I read Scripture, a thousand atheistical Thoughts are injected; and therefore my Case is most hopeless. Now the LORD loves me not, and my Soul abhors Him; my Heart is so wicked, that tho' with *Spira* I say it not with my Tongue, yet wish I that there were no GOD; He is strange and terrible unto me, an Enemy, and therefore hateful to me. Then did I find that the carnal Mind is Enmity against GOD; I was a right Representation of the Damned in Hell, tormented and hopeless, and raging against GOD and his Providences. Sometimes I would say, What a strange Thing is this!

thou thinkest there is no GOD, and yet art afraid of Him.

It did not a little heighten my Sorrows, that I was within fourteen Days to partake of the Sacrament: The Condition I was in, and the Want of the Evidences of Grace, made me look on Communicating as a dreadful Business; and the Pride of my Heart was such, that having been known to have resolved to communicate, it would be thought a Weakness not to communicate: And for this Cause I was the more diligent to get Oil, and to get my Wedding Garment on; but found not such Returns as upon the like Occasions I had hitherto found, partly thro' Sloth, and partly thro' the Pride of my Heart; so that I was, on the Sabbath-Day Morning that I was to communicate, in as sad a Taking as I was ever before, utterly jumbled, and at a Distance with God, and full of Horror and atheistical Temptations.

It is true, that for some Time it pleased God to suspend these Storms, and to give a Calm, by binding up *Satan* for a Time; and it continued thus until three Days before my Communicating. I wondered how they could be removed, when the Cause was not taken away; and therefore they came again when I came to the Table. Then would I say to myself, Oh poor wretched Soul, thou hast oftentimes desired a Conviction and a Law-work, and now thou hast one to the Purpose; see what Good it doth thee: O how unkindly and diabolical are these Convictions! The Occasion and Ground of my Trouble were atheistical Suggestions, and hard Thoughts of GOD; likewise it afflicted me, that I could not get rid of all Sin, and that I could not be resolved to do all Duties,

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especially the Duty of Reproof, to which I was
averse thro' my natural Bashfulness.

My Trouble was encreased by my Communi-
cating; especially, by conversing with others, I
found that the LORD that Day had been distribut-
ing largely; and it was ordinary with them to ex-
press themselves thus, *I have found Him*. Oh,
said I, and am I only a Bastard? Hath He given
to every one their Portion, and famished me?
This struck me dead, and I was no longer for
Company: The more spiritual Sermons were, and
Societies were, the more was I troubled; I saw as
it were them coming from East and West, and
sitting with *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, and my-
self among those that were thrust out: Meat,
Company, and all Ordinances were a Burden to
me; I sat alone, and mine Eyes were heavy with
Sorrow. Oh, said I, for some Wilderness, that
I might lament it, and pour out this miserable
Soul of mine in the LORD's Bosom! My Hopes
were gone, and I said, Farewel all pleasant Days!
Henceforth I am entering the gloomy Valley and
Shadow of Death. No Means would do me
Good: I looked over Mr. *Baxter's* Arguments for
the Truth of the Scriptures, but they seemed as
Straw to me, and my distempered Spirit brake
thro' them: All I could say or hear seemed but
weak, either to persuade me, or to give me
Peace.

AFTER the Sacrament my Terrors increased,
and my Temptations assaulted me so violently,
that I was taken off my Knees, and could not
pray one Word; nay, they were so violent, and
my Fears so strong, that I judged they could not
be removed but by a Miracle: And I would (said
I) seek no other Evidence of a Divine Power and

Being, than the removing these Fears; and I thought, if the LORD would condescend to this, I should doubt no more. Then was it suggested to me, Thy Heart was once so secure, so careless, that it needed an Almighty Power to awaken thee as now thou art; and cannot the LORD, who hath wounded thy deemed impenetrable Heart, heal it again.

2. THIS was my Condition; and the LORD was delivering, and did deliver me by these Steps and Means. 1. I was put continually to seek the LORD in the Use of Means, notwithstanding all my Discouragements: I prayed, read and meditated; and some Healing I would find in these, but a Cloud still came; however they did Good insensibly. 2. Being in Mr. T. H. his House, a godly and prudent Man, his Company did me much Good, especially his Discourses to me concerning the Nature of Temptations, and how the Devil beats them violently into the Soul without Reason, and throws them in as it were, and presses by bold Assertions on the Soul what he would have it believe: Likewise his Prayers did me Good, especially when he spake of God's Condescendency, and Man's Stubbornness; and cited *Ephraim*, whom God smote, *and he went on forwardly in his Ways; I have seen him, and will heal him*: As likewise, the marvellous Light he gave to Scriptures, and manifested a Depth in them that I never perceived before; which astonished me, and made me see Something evidencing a Godhead even in them, a wonderful Excellency hid in them. Lastly, his cheerful Conversation, not in a carnal Way, but his Joy was inward, proceeding from Faith in God: For the universal Carnality of Professors, with their Discouragements, living so short of their Principles, did much help forward

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my Atheism, as it made me think that a Saint was but a Fancy; but truly mine Eyes saw Something of a New-Testament Spirit in him, and was some Way persuaded, by seeing his Holiness, his Cheerfulness in God, and his deep Reach in spiritual Mysteries, that there was a God, and a Holiness attainable. And such was the Power of God in him, that with his seasonable Discourse and Prayer he would charm, and calm, and quiet my Storms, even when I despaired of Help, and thought it impossible; tho' they would return again when I was gone from him. 3. When I came from that Minister's House, my atheistical Thoughts recurred and assaulted me in such a Manner that my Soul was vexed unto Death. I could bear it no longer, and through the Violence of Temptations was taken off my Knees, and unable so much as to knit four Sentences together. I at last sat down on my Knees, and said to this Purpose; "LORD, if Thou BE, Thou art Almighty, and canst reveal so much of Thyself as may convince me and put away this Storm; I desire Thee therefore to give this Proof of thy Power and Being, as this Night to put away this Storm, and convince me there is a God, and that thy Word is true. LORD, be not offended with my Peremptoriness, for I can bear no longer; and besides, if Thou delay the Revelation of thy Mind herein, my suspicious Heart will be ready to say, that it was Time that altered my Condition; and, if this very Night Thou do, I will look upon it as a sufficient Demonstration of thy Being. Determine Thou the Way thyself; I have opened my Mouth. LORD, bow the Heavens, and give not by the Continuance of my Trouble such a Ground of Cavil to the Adversary against me, to make me doubt Thou art the Hearer of Prayer." Immediately it was suggested, Now hold by thy Word, and

thou shalt see GOD will not help thee this Night, and let this increase thy Suspensions; for sure, if there were a GOD, He would help when so put to it. But the LORD did bow the Heavens: For, sitting pensively at the Fire-side, meditating on some rational Arguments for the Verity of the Scriptures, and not finding any but such as might be shifted; at last it was suggested, What a Fool hast thou been? Art thou an Atheist, because thou canst not prove there is a GOD? Or, is there no GOD, because thou canst not demonstratively prove it? Suppose it possible that a Number of honest Men might lie, and that the World were so mad as to believe them, and that this Lye had been carried so secretly on as never to be discovered, and all Evidences to the contrary burnt when the World universally turn'd Christians; tho' this were possible, is it therefore true? Have ye ever seen an Argument to prove there is no GOD, or that the Scriptures are false? But grant that the Scriptures are true; what Evidences could ye have of their Truth that ye have not! The Doctrine itself is contrary to Flesh and Blood, against Lying and Juggling, confirmed by Miracles, done before the World, and amidst Enemies; for a long Time Copies in many thousand Hands in different Countries and Kingdoms, delivered by the most holy, ingenuous and faithful Men, and not contradicted by Enemies: Suppose, I say, all this Course had been taken as the greatest Evidence of its Truth, would there not still be Place for such Objections as these? What more Evidence would you have than this? Doth it follow, because such Shifts may be given, that therefore the Doctrine is not true? Might not all thy Answers thou givest be given against it, tho' undoubtedly true? There appeared such an Evidence in this Reasoning, the LORD shining upon it, that by the almighty Power of

Christ

Christ my Clouds did fly away; the Bands in which I had been holden, did in an Instant break afunder, all my Fears vanished, and there was a Calm: In which GOD did shew much Goodness, and Power, and Condescendency, who looked so seasonably upon me.

3. FROM which I learn, 1. As the Devil seems to undermine Men in their strongest Bulwarks, so must the LORD with a strong Hand convince of, and teach fundamental Principles, and amongst the rest persuade that there is a GOD. Natural Belief and Evidence vanish in Supernaturals.—

2. No natural or rational Evidence is sufficient to convince of Atheism; for all that either I could meditate or read in Books, could not cure my Atheism. Peace is a created Thing of GOD. 3. *Christ* out-

shoots *Satan* in his own Bow: The Devil fought by these Temptations to shake me loose of all my Principles; and GOD blest it to be the Mean of my establishing. 4. An Evil under which the

Soul mourns, is burdened, and which it loaths, will never destroy a Man; it is Ills entertained that destroy the Soul. 5. While we are here,

we must resolve to meet with one Evil after another to grapple with: Here is not the Land of Rest; *In the World ye shall have Tribulation*, either inward or outward, or both. I had no sooner come

out of the Wilderness, and was thinking to *multiply my Days as the Sand*, in Peace, but this Storm came. 6. GOD afflicts in Measures, he puts no

more Weight upon the Soul than it is able to bear: I had little or no outward Afflictions to grapple with; now the LORD *stayed his East Wind in the Day of his rough Wind*, Isa. xxvii. 8. the Foundations of the great Deep, which afterwards broke out, were not yet opened. 7. Violent Temptations last not long; when the Devil turns violent,

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his best Arrows are done. 8. A Saint's first Exercises are ordinarily in Spirituals, before he be set to conflict with outward Troubles, that he be not turned carnal by them, but, being somewhat acquainted with the LORD's Ways, may be more spiritual in his outward Exercises: The LORD trains him up privately, as it were, before He set him out to fight.

1. I WAS then to go South, being in the Year 1661, where I stayed from *November*, I think, 'till *October* after, being to pay some Money to a Creditor, and to transact with some Debtors, being at this Time Twenty-one Years of Age; as likewise some Business did intervene there which took me up. It was now that I began some Way to mind Business; I should have gone to the College, but I was otherwise taken up: In a Word, except it was to spend my Time, I knew no Good I did all that Time; only I wrote some Law. I came Home at last, and was a little more taken up in Duty when at Home, but made no sensible Progress.

2. ABOUT this Time my outward Afflictions began to appear, and the LORD was bringing me low as to my Condition in the World, by Means of a Person who pretended Right to all we had in the World, and had some Colour of Law for it. He called me South being cited for that Effect; where being come, and destitute of Friends and Money, the Times being evil, and there being much Corruption in Courts, and my Adversary being in great Favour, and I unskilful in Law, and withal conscious of the Weakness of my Securities, I was inclined to agree with him on what Terms it pleased himself, giving him much of 12,000 Marks, which was a principal Part of my Interest. To the ignorant and unacquainted with my

my Affairs, this exposed me to much Contempt. About the same Time likewise I was unadvisedly bound for the Sum of 8000 Marks of Portions to my Sisters, they being to be married, and my Mother renting all my Estate, which was not now above 100*l*. Sterling per Annum; these Sums daily ran on Interest, and consumed my Stock: And much of this I looked on as a Punishment of my Faults.

3. I CONTINUED in these Sins, which about this Time did mightily prevail against me; 1. I omitted the excellent and precious Occasions of getting and doing Good, both in Reference to myself and others, in Spirituals and Temporals, where I had Occasions of Sermons, of Fellowship of Saints, of Books, and otherwise accomplishing myself. 2. There was much Omission of private Duties, of Prayer, Meditation, of reading the Scriptures; these were either omitted, or very slightly performed. 3. I lived in spiritual Adulteries, and gave myself to Idols, to Sensuality of Meats, Drinks, Company, Pastime, Cards and Dice; and, having *forsaken God the Fountain of Living Waters, I hewed out to myself broken Cisterns that can hold no Water*: And in this Life of Pleasure I continued, notwithstanding many Challenges of Conscience. 4. I through this decayed in Grace, lost my Assurance, Peace and Strength, and became very unhearty and indisposed. 5. There was extraordinary Lightness in my Conversation, especially with Professors, when the sad Time called for Mourning. The Work of Reformation was at this Time ruined; the eminent Servants of *Christ*, some killed, some banished, their Livelihood taken from them, and all generally discountenanced; Wickedness advanced, and Godliness borne down; faithful Ministers cast from their Charges; and yet was I making Mirth when mine Eyes were Witnesses to all this.

4. YET

4. YET notwithstanding some Life continued still, and the burning Bush was not consumed. The Means that did me Good were, 1. I prayed once a Day, at least in the Morning; and this kept me from putrifying altogether. 2. On the Sabbath-day I took some more Time, and the LORD ordinarily met me with some Life and Affections; and then I saw the Evil of my Ways. 3. When Sin and Distance from GOD come to some Height, I retired, and poured out my Soul to GOD, and by this Means got Good, and put on new Resolutions. 4. Afflictions begun likewise to work, and kept my Eyes waking, put me to Prayer, and made Mercies, whether spiritual or temporal, sweet to me. 5. Some seasonable Words I heard Sometimes in good Books, or Sermons, or Discourses, which kept in my dying Life; and through this it came to pass, that though I was much endangered by Temptations, yet not altogether destroyed.

5. FROM which I observe, 1. The great Power of Sin that is in the Heart, that notwithstanding all Means, is apt to break out again. O how great Need of Watchfulness is there, and spiritual Dependence on GOD! 2. Prosperity, Ease, and the Desires of the Soul, send Leanness to the Soul; the Evils of the World are much better than the Good thereof. It is better with me when I have least outward Comforts. 3. Whatever GOD suffers for a Time, He will not suffer Sin unpunished. Though GOD be merciful, gracious and long-suffering, yet by no Means will He clear the Guilty. Justice and Mercy kiss one another; for about this same Time my outward Afflictions did begin, and the Seeds of my future Afflictions were sown. 4. Prayer and Meditation, though not always effectual for the End intended, yet are evermore
pro-

profitable; for though they did not altogether recover me, yet they did preserve me from utter falling: And so by Experience I know the Truth of this, *He hath not said to the House of Jacob, seek his Face in vain.* For, ever since I remember, proportionable to my Diligence in seeking was my finding; nor made I ever any extraordinary Aim at God, but I found Something extraordinary. 5. I learn a Christian's Assurance or Faith, though it do not first flow from Holiness, yet is ever proportionable to his holy Walking. Faith is kept in a pure Conscience; Sin is like a Blot of Ink fallen upon our Evidences. This I found as a Truth, and so will any not given up to the Delusion of Antinomianism. Being thus kept for a While in Bonds, and not able to recover, I came Home, and the LORD looked upon me thus.

I. BEING come Home, and exceedingly afflicted with the Remembrance of mispent Time, and the Cloud that was upon the breaking out in outward Troubles, I resolved, seeing my Case was extraordinary, and that Fasting had been so blest to me, I would try what the LORD would now do to me by it. The Causes were my Unsettledness and low Condition, I gave up myself to God, to be directed by Him, and He led me by an unexpected Way, which was by convincing me of my Unbelief, and humbling me under it, and drawing me by renewed Acts of Faith to Himself again. The LORD made the Strain of my Discourse to run out on Faith, and Unbelief, which last I considered as the greatest of Evils.

WITH this Consideration, which God did press Home upon my Soul, through his Goodness and Power, I was wrought on so powerfully and sweetly to believe the Sinfulness of Unbelief; and the
LORD

LORD commended Faith so to me, that I was drawn to *Christ* by an irresistible Power.

FROM this there proceeded a new Heart, Resolution and Strength: All Sorrows and Fears were removed, and I was much comforted, and strengthened: I was strengthened to seek the LORD and his Ways. Sin in general was mortified, and a particular Sin, *viz.* playing at Cards, quite felled, with which I had so long wrestled in vain, and to which I had so great an Inclination that I continued in it against Checks of Conscience; That Sin this Day received its Death's Wound; I put on a thorough Resolution never to use any of these Games, and this so effectually, that from that Day to this, I never had so much as an Inclination to it.

2. NOR were the immediate Effects of this, while at Home less blessed: For, 1. I found a greater Wisdom, Strength and Activity to go about civil Business, which I could master now. 2. I had Experience of the LORD's Kindness in some Afflictions and Trials I met with at the same Time, in supporting my Spirit under them, and delivering my Soul out of them wonderfully by his own immediate Power; which if GOD had not done, any of them might do much to break me: These did not in the least dismay me. 3. I found Afflictions doing me Good; and the Rod was giving me Instruction, and putting me to Prayer in an extraordinary Manner: My Heart likewise was mortified to the World, and GOD was made sweet to me as my Portion. 4. I began again to write Diaries, and to walk more closely and circumspect with GOD. The Scriptures were sweet to me, and I began to see and feel more Light, and Power, and Wisdom in them than before, especially the Epistle to the *Romans*. 5. Hence I learned, that Days
and

and Times set apart extraordinarily, on some extraordinary Occasions, are exceeding useful and profitable (if not needful) to the Preservation of a Christian Life; nor know I how Folks can be Christians without it. There were occasional Sacrifices as well as the daily Burnt-offering, and Days and Times extraordinarily for extraordinary Occasions: It is true, they are not stinted now under the Gospel; but there is this Moral in them, that yet obliges, That extraordinary Mercies or Troubles should have proportional extraordinary Worship and Address to GOD. For my own Part, I cannot express how needful, yea, how profitable, and necessary these Days have been: And I look on the Neglect of extraordinary Address to GOD, as one main Cause why there are so many decayed Christians.

4. BEING delivered now from all my Fears, and my Day clearing as to my spiritual Condition, and better Hopes of temporal Affairs, I was a-new plunged in a Sea of Troubles, when I did scarce dream of it: For falling out with some of my Relations unadvisedly, I pursued them at Law, and spent more on it than the Matter was worth: Where there wanted not Diligence and Success as to my Part, but GOD put visible Hindrances in the Way, and I was led merely by my Inclinations, and did not advise with the LORD.

AT first, through Want of Occasions to pray, and manifold Temptations, and Want of good Company, and much Distraction with what I intended, I fell into some considerable Decay, and began to be remiss in my Progress, and to grow dead and dull, and untender, and the LORD's Communications did dry up upon my Soul; and now I began to forget former Things: And this

continued *July*, and *August*. I then changed my Quarters in Town, being unsatisfied with my former, and the Inconvenience thereof; and took up my Chamber in a godly Man's House, a Minister, where, through his Conversation, and some more Pains taken in Duties, and his spiritual Sermons on the Sabbath-day, but especially through the LORD's pouring out of his Spirit, and drawing near to my Soul, I began again to recover; and in Process of Time not only recovered what I lost, but much more: The unregarded Vineyard was now looked to again, and Communion with GOD set on Foot, and my Taste of Spiritual Truths returned. Here I stayed 'till the Middle of *October*.

ONE Sabbath-day especially, when alone, at first perceiving Nothing, and under great Deadness, and upon the Point of giving over, the LORD was pleased unexpectedly to draw near, and to concur so with my Exercises, that through the Light of his Spirit, I beheld the Work of GOD in my Soul; I discovered the many Mistakes I had, that before kept me in Darkness and Bondage; through which I was so enlightened and strengthened that it was a Recovery of Health after Sickness; in the Strength of which I went afterwards, and by this Day's Exercise did much advance in my Journey: And the Truths of the LORD then taught me, were of especial Use ever afterwards to me.

I HERE likewise got some extraordinary Visits from the LORD both in Prayer and other Exercises, especially in reading the Scriptures: But it was prest on my Spirit, and I was followed with it, That Bonds and Afflictions were abiding me.

5. AND now being a little strengthened, and looking for good Days, a Cloud came and darkened my Sky; for a grievous Storm of outward Afflictions broke out, which increased and drew my Afflictions to a Head: The Steps of which were these, 1. The great Law-business for which I came South, was at once cast; by which Means my Reputation was lost; as likewise all my Preparations against some Debtors made void, and I looked on this as no less than the Loss of 20,000*l*. 2. I lost through my Absence from the North, 800 Marks per Annum, which were now recovered by the Creditors; this afterwards I strove to regain, but in vain, so that I lived on my Mother's Bounty. 3. To help this, other 200 Marks per Annum were taken from me about the same Time, through Want of Money to defend it and bad Securities. 4. Nor was this enough: After I came Home I was charged before two Courts at one Time, most violently, for no less than 12,000 Marks alledged due by my Father; which kept me continually travelling, and put me to great Charges to maintain these two Actions. 5. There were likewise some Debts which I owed here and there, extending in all to a 1000*l*. for which I was daily harrassed by several Persons; so that South, North, East, and West, I could not turn me where I had not a Creditor: Which I confess troubled me more than all the rest, as having my Credit engaged therein; and that which I had ordered to pay them was taken away, nor knew I what to do. 6. Nothing now remained of all my Father's Fortune, but a small Estate, enjoyed by my Mother for her Life: And about the same Time a new (tho' unjust) Adversary charges both her and me for 36,000 Marks; so that our whole Livelihood was either gone, or at Stake: For four Years did this Adversary vex us, and was like to

have undone us as to our temporal Condition, had not the LORD prevented. 7. To this were added Contempt and Reproach; I was the Table-talk of the Times; a Sign and Wonder; the People of God were grieved; my nearest and surest Friends forsook and looked strange on me, of whose Kindness now I had Proof, and whom of Purpose I tried, though I knew they would not help me; I was as a Burden to them, and by them despised: And whoever had any Thing to say, did now strike in against me. To compleat all, there was no returning to Him that smote me, I decayed in my spiritual Condition: From *October* to *January* 1665; all Things were low both spiritually and temporally.

6. THE Causes of these my Trouble were either outward, or from myself. The outward Causes were, my Ancestors bad Securities in their Heritages, which were questioned in my Time. 2. My Father's being bound for others, which hath been 48,000 Marks out of my Way. 3. His dying so soon, and leaving me so young. 4. The Unskillfulness and Negligence of those whom he intrusted with the Management thereof; for Nothing was looked to after he was gone, and all was destroyed before I was twenty Years of Age. 5. Evil Friends, some slighting and denying us Help; others out of Envy to my Father, employing all their Power to harm us. 6. Evil Times, so that I durst scarce appear to do any Thing, being hated for my Principles.

THE Cause inward from myself was Sin; as, 1. I suppose my Relations Sins had Influence on this Storm; for I found great Freedom in confessing them. 2. We were a professing Family, and

did not walk suitably thereunto, but like the World. 3. My Desires to be great with Men; and my too much esteeming, prizing and desiring of outward Greatness and Comforts. 4. Not acknowledging GOD in all our Ways, but doing Things without his Advice, and running to this or the other outward Help. 5. Pride and Stoutness of Heart, which GOD hath been crushing. 6. Incurribleness under Ordinances, Convictions and lesser Judgments; therefore did the LORD take the Rod, I found much Good by all these Dispensations; for by the Sadness of the Countenance I find my Heart bettered and mortified to the World, and I drawn nearer to GOD, and kept waking, in the Experience of the LORD's Goodness. In a Word, the LORD hath so blessed his Rod to me, that I find the Fruits of Righteousness wrought in me, so as I may say, I had perished, unless I had perished: Blessed be the LORD for inward and outward Exercises and Troubles.

7. BEING in this forsaken and desolate Case, and none to Pity, it pleased the LORD to look upon me, and to give my Soul a Resting-place, when forsaken of all others; He was the only Friend in Adversity. He strengthened my Soul by comfortable Words, allaying thereby the Extremitie of my Afflictions; then did He say unto me, *Why art thou disquieted?* Is there any Thing but what is ordinary befallen thee? Are there not many Thousands that would change Conditions with thee? Thou hast much of *Christ's* Compassion, and Pity, and Tenderneſs; it may be He will do thee Good for this: It is good that this is the Vengeance He takes for all that thou hast done; *Chastened of the LORD that thou mayst not be condemned with the World.* Poor Soul, what hast thou lost? Thy Loss hath been only the Things of the World,

in which no Part of thy Happiness doth consist: Art thou not in thy Father's Hand? And will not thy Tutor order all Things well? Men and Devils can do no more than He permits; and dost thou fear Evil from that Side? Shouldst thou not bear all that comes from Him? But consider further, wouldst thou yet exchange States with the mad World? All thy Adversaries, in all Likelihood, that are now making merry, will burn in Hell for ever: Is thy Misery any Thing to these? Wait therefore upon God: A little Time will blow over this Storm; it cannot last long. And tho' thy Case be sad, yet is it not beyond God's Power; yea, thou shalt bless the Day that ever thou wast afflicted: Afflictions are good Things, else had they never been in Legacy by *Christ*, nor promised in the new Covenant. With these and the like Considerations was my Soul several Times, in my Extremity, refreshed and allayed. And I would get much Ease sometimes by pouring out of my Soul to God in Prayer, and shewing him my Case; quickly did the LORD reward me outwardly: My Adversaries wearied with Delays, and his Commission at the same Time taken away, gave over the Pursuit, and never further troubled me till this Day.

8. AT the same Time I was growing in my spiritual Condition, increasing in Faith, in Diligence and Strength; the Scriptures were very sweet, Occasions of meeting with God seldom in vain; this I had to counterballance my outward Troubles; so that, as the LORD did bear down with one Hand, He supported with the other. One Time I was strongly enlightened in the Mystery of the Trinity; another Time, I was so taken up with the Thoughts of the Love of *Christ*, that I awaked the whole Winter-night, admiring *Christ*, and praying with suitable Affection; at other Times

Times I spent two or three Hours in Prayer: Likewise at the same Time, writing on the Scriptures, I received much Light, Clearness and Sweetness, Several extraordinary Visits would the LORD bestow on me; remembering my Afflictions, by which I would oftentimes be carried above the World.

9. WHEN we came Home again, the LORD was no less kind to me, yea, exceeded; and I was daily admitted to nearer and nearer Fellowship with Himself: And, wherever I was, GOD was with me; and continued thus 'till *October*. 1. About this Time, I did begin to study the Covenant of Grace: And one Time, from *Rom. v.* and from the Consideration of Baptism, was I mightily strengthened in Assurance and Confidence, and the Joy of the LORD did I find to be my Strength. 2. Another Time, setting some Time apart for examining my Condition, tho' at first I was very indisposed, yet I was so enlightened and refreshed, that in the Strength thereof I walked many Days. 3. I discovered a marvellous Depth in the Covenant of Grace; I was much enlightened and strengthened in the Extent, Freedom and Excellency thereof: The LORD one Night began to apply this very strongly and clearly: It was a Night to be much remembered for ever. The LORD did so clear the Covenant of Grace, and by his Spirit made me (at first dull and weak) apply and consent, and feed upon these Privileges as mine. 2. Are all these Things yours? quoth the Spirit; why dost thou not feed upon them? Why dost thou not delight thyself in Fatness? Thou complainst of the Want of Life, Strength and Comfort; why dost thou not come to the Fire, that thou mayest be warm? Here is the LORD's Security for what thou wantest: If thou hadst thy Friend's Security for

for Money, thou wouldst be glad; and hast thou not the LORD's in thy *Bible*? And may not Heaven, *Christ* and Holiness satisfy thee? And with this there came such a mighty Gale of the Spirit, that took away all my Confusions, made my Soul apply *Christ* and all his Benefits, answered all my Objections fully and clearly, and made me strongly apply the Promises; insomuch that I found *Christ* a sweet and satisfying Thing; I found his *Flesh Meat indeed*, and his *Blood Drink indeed*; all Fears were driven away; the Gospel-privileges appeared exceeding sweet, so that I spent the whole Night in Prayer and Praising and Rejoicing; wishing now for the Morning, that I might do mightily for the LORD: My very Body was weakened with the Abundance of the Joy of Faith, arising from a Sense of an Interest in GOD. I was likewise very evangelical in my Actings, considering all Actions as the LORD's Service, and myself and all Things the LORD's; walking in great Peace, and glorifying GOD, endeavouring to encourage others.

10. THERE followed upon this a certain Decay during the Space of a Year; this was about the End of 1664, and continued 'till the End of 1665, during which Time I was usually, tho' not always at Home. This Decay was but from that Height of spiritual Joy, and Degrees in Communion with GOD; there were more Temptations, less Peace within, and less Progress made in the Ways of GOD; so that I accounted the Year 1665 an unfortunate Year: All this Time there was Diligence in Duties, and some Visits, Quicknings and Encouragements, and yet below what I formerly received; Visitation were neither so great, nor the Impressions so lasting: The Causes of which were, 1. My going from Home, where I had Freedom from Trouble, much Com-
pany

pany and Comforts to take up my Heart. 2. Sensuality when from Home, and little minding of God. 3. Pride in despising of others, and thinking too much of myself and of my Attainments, and Something of a supercilious Carriage. 4. Evil Company, and going to Places where I had no Call, which did much Prejudice.

II. BUT GOD, after many Days visited me, so as I not only recovered my former Health, but set further forward than ever I was, thus. 1. I received much Strength from some private Fasts I kept, never using that Duty in vain. 2. About the same Time I had frequent Occasion of Converse with godly, able and exercised Christians, by which many Meetings were kept, and therein Something of God, whereby I was much bettered: Tho' in the mean Time I found not the sensible Effects of these Occasions, yet did they me Good insensibly. 3. I went to———being helped with extraordinary Prayer before, and there was assisted to encourage others and exhort, and was helped to shine in a Gospel-Conversation. And here I set up one other Sail; for before I prayed but twice a Day, I here resolved to set some Time apart at Mid-day for this Effect; and, obeying this, I found the Effects to be wonderful. My Heart was never in a better Frame; never more Assurance and Singleness of Heart; never more Strength to do or suffer for God; never more Mortification to the World, and Sweetness in the Ways of God: And now I was fully resolved, always, and in all Places, to glorify Him. All this Time outward Troubles and Wants continued, tho' the Burden and Weight of this Serpent were abated; God stayed his rough Wind; they lay on, but did neither increase nor trouble.

MEAN-

MEANTIME I was smitten in my Body with a painful Boil, with which I had been threatened some Years before; which, with the Pain thereof, did at first cast me into a Fever, and my Breath was stopt by the Oppression of the Spirits; which made me have some Impressions of Death. During that Time, *Satan* was let out again, and was most violent in his Temptations; and my Heart was so cast down, that one Afternoon, there was such Faintness, Weakness and Aversion to Duty, that I thought I should never endure it, and was not far from casting it off altogether; but God pitied the Anguish of my Soul, and did break these spiritual Bonds. During this Sickness He miraculously allayed the Pain of my Boil, and speedily, and that without Means, cured it; for however I thought some Things to prevent it, yet, looking on it as a Punishment from God, I knew not if I could be free to take the Rod out of his Hand, and to counterwork Him. And indeed I lost Nothing by this; for, giving my Cheeks to this Smiter, my Chastisement was very gentle and of short Continuance, so I was helped to continue in Duties; and, when the Boil brake, I resolved to go more mightily, and diligently about the LORD's Work than ever. The Summer after, on a Sabbath-day, I called to Mind the Days of old, and some of the LORD's Ways with me, which opened the Doors of my Soul, and Love quickened in longing after, and grieving for his Absence, and for my Ways; which Disposition continued and strengthened me. There I was put to learn a new Exercise, which was, to observe Providences, and to consider the Ends of God's particular and general Providences, the Ends of Afflictions, of Sins, of Backslidings, of Indispositions, and to remark some Steps of Love in them, which did me much Good. He let me see much Love in all Dispensations, enlightened me in my Duties,

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kept me from wrong Constructions, and did much establish and comfort me. Being to quit our chief Dwellings and Lands, according to my Transaction three Years ago, and some Mistakes failing out, I staid alone, and went to another contiguous Shire, where were some lively Christians and my very dear Friends, with whom I spent Time profitably, building up one another. There I resolved to set up extraordinary Days of Humiliation again, and so effectually, that a Glory was seen in the Ways of God and of his People which I saw not before, and Love to *Christ* advanced. After I came Home I set up Humiliation-days, and made it my Exercise to conflict with and overcome the World, to close fully and wholly with *Christ*, to glorify Him with all my Heart, and Him only. The Winter after, I found my Heart warm to *Christ*, thro' rubbing over in my Memory some Steps of the LORD's Providences and Dealings towards me: And there my Eyes were opened to see an infinite Fountain of Consolation and Love, which before was hid to me; there I remembered all the Pains the LORD took in preparing me for Himself, how much He suffered at my Hands, all the Care He had of me in my Wilderness-condition, how He humbled me, convinced me, and how many Times his Visitation upheld my Spirit: Then did I see Love in all the LORD's Dealing with me, God in all this pursuing me constantly with Loving-kindness. About the same Time likewise I was convinced of the great Sin of Unthankfulness, the Evil and Sinfulness of which was discovered, and Desires to abound in this Grace of Thankfulness; which was thus occasioned: I found some others that had outgone me far in Love and Gratitude, speaking much of *Christ's* Love and Kindness to them, and what they were meeting with

with, and how much they made of small Visits; Oh ungrateful Wretch (said I to myself) thou art often meeting with quickening Consolations and Visitations, by which thy dying Life is preserved, and yet takest no Notice of it: Not one thankful Acknowledgement for all this, nor one loving Word spoken in Commendation of *Christ* for all this: The Breathings and Gifts of GOD's Spirit, and these, in Respect they are from Him, are to be infinitely prized; yea, they are the Purchase of *Christ*'s Blood, and a Pledge and Testimony of the LORD's Kindness, and the least of Favours and Tokens from a Prince are highly valued. And this did help me to Thankfulness, and I did set a Value upon Mercies. I was at this Time preſt vehemently to close Walking; to an entire, cordial and full Resignation of myself to GOD; to keep Distance with the World; to be for the LORD and Him only, and for none other; and was made sensible of one Point of loose Walking, that I did not endeavour to observe the LORD's Providences, and that I did not walk in his Counsel, and depend on Him, acknowledging Him in all my Ways: I began a little afterwards to study Patience; I got this Lesson in my Hand, and made some small Progress therein: Patience I took up under the Notion of the Soul's invincible going on in Duties, notwithstanding all Evils; when a Man keeps his Place and Ground, and stands out like a Rock, not amazed with any Amazement, not discouraged, not fainting, not giving over, but continuing in a constant Frame of Spirit. What I sought not I learned, and what I sought I got not: GOD answered my Prayers tho' not in my Way, and shewed He accepted them; He led me in his Way to Heaven, and not in mine. At last, that the Warning I got five Years since in the South might be fulfilled of the Bonds and Afflictions that were abiding

biding me, I was arrested for a Debt which I had paid : Only my Trustee and near Relation, who received the Money from me to be given to my Creditor, did knavishly apply it to his own Use; for which, I was taken and kept three Days in a Chamber, 'till Course was taken with it; which occasioned my going South, where I continued much of two Years, sometimes in the South, and sometimes in the North. My Condition during this Time was a wrestling Condition with the Sons of *Zeruah* that were too strong for me; little or no Over-coming, yet violent Wrestling. Yet some work was done; the LORD blessed my Fellowship to the South-country Professors, that several of them were awakened; and generally my Conversation was edifying, and someway shining, so that I received much Honour thereby; while I honoured GOD, the LORD honoured me. I kept Christian Fellowship with them, prayed with and exhorted them, which was not in Vain, especially in *Edinburgh*, where I sometimes spake four Times in a Week. The Scope of my Discourses was exalting Holiness; against a slight Work of Grace; against Looseness and Laxness; against Formality; against Sloth and Unprofitableness, and pressing them to be doing Good; against Discouragements and Unbelief, and pressing to believe.

4. LASTLY, It pleased the LORD by Degrees likewise to look favourably on my outward Condition, and to deliver me from my Afflictions, and vexatious Debts and Wants, and now He hath in some Measure exalted mine Head, and given me by strange Providences what He had taken from me: For I humbled myself under the Sense of the Calamities of our Family, and my own particular Wants; I besought Him to keep us from utter Destruction: And the LORD was pleased to hear;

He destroyed by Death my chief Adversaries, I found Shifts to pay my many petty Debts, gained our Law-action, and was restored to some of my ancient Possessions again. Thus have I briefly run over the most memorable Circumstances in my Life until this Time; being now Thirty Years of Age and unmarried.



CHAP. V.

Relating to some Things touching my present Condition.

SECT. I. *Wherein are contained some general Observations in Reference to myself.*

1. **A**FTER a long and serious Search into my Estate before GOD, I am by the LORD's Works of Love towards me, and his Works of Grace in my Soul, made to conclude that I am born again, and that there is not only a formal partial Change wrought, but that I am visited with Salvation: For I find a great and universal Change wrought in my Soul, growing rather than decaying; so that thus I stand fixed as to this Matter: I have both Word and Seal for it. 2. Yet, do I find this my Belief of my Interest much shaken and sore assaulted by Sin, which falls like a Blot upon all my Evidences, and takes away the Comfort of them, and fills me with some sudden Apprehensions all may be wrong. 3. I have thereupon concluded it to be my Duty to be thankful, to draw near to GOD by Faith; and to search, by Prayer,

Prayer, Meditation, and Reading, my Estate more exactly; to consider the Nature of Sanctification more exactly, and ponder Objections and Grounds of doubting; to pray to the LORD daily to open my Estate to me; to practise Obedience, and go on in the Exercise of Faith, Love and Humility and other Graces; to be marking Providences, and the LORD's Carriage to my Soul.

2. I FIND I am exceeding sinful, compassed with more than ordinary Infirmities. Before Conversion I have been suffered to run out in more open Acts of Rebellion than others, and now I think I grieve the LORD more than any other; I have a harder, blinder and more carnal Heart; so that I conclude myself the least of aints, not worthy to be called a Saint. Therefore I am called to Humility and Submission. To love the LORD beyond others, as having forgiven me most. To be more watchful against Sin, having such an Heart within, so ready to slip; and to walk in greater Fear, and to be more diligent: And to depend most on the LORD Jesus, (as having least in myself,) to make up all my Wants with his Fulness.

3. I HAVE a weak, complying, soft Nature, contrary to my Will and Judgment. I bless God for a clear Judgment and Understanding, for I am much given to pry into the Bottom of Things; but my miserable soft Nature yields to every Thing, and this makes all Duties that are attended with Labour and Boldness a great Burden to me. I am judged by Men clean contrary, to be rude and contrary to all Men; but little know they the Wrestling I have with my own Heart, and what a Torment I breed to myself when I did not comply with Men. O how much Need of Divine Assistance! No less will do my Turn; I have Nature

always to resist. I hereupon find a great Resistance to all Manner of Duties; so that there is no Duty I go about, but I find *Satan* and the Power of Sin in me ready to resist me in it; and I get Nothing easily done, but over a Mountain of Difficulties, Heart and Providences and all crossing: What a mighty Work to pray, to meditate, to speak or do any Thing! Oh Sloth!

4. THAT which most in Earth I desire is, to do great Things for GOD, to suffer much for Him, to be signal in honouring of Him, to finish my Ministry. I contemn the World as Dung, and all the World's Kindness, though my Nature will not suffer me to express it; *my Spirit is willing*, but herein I find *the Flesh is weak*. My Unprofitableness and Sinfulness is my greatest Grief: I had rather be cast out of GOD's comfortable Presence (so as not to be hated of Him) than out of his Service: I have been sometimes thinking, that if these Times last, my Heart will break, if I be continually shut up this Way, and all the Passages stop of doing for the LORD.

SECT. 2. *Declaring some strong Evils under which I mourn, and against which I wrestle.*

I FIND it with me as with the *Israelites*, that there were some Nations that they could not drive out: So I may say, that there are some strong Evils that I cannot drive out, and which continually afflict me, and discourage me.

THE first Evil is, That Distance the LORD keeps with me in Prayer, in Providences, Commands, Threatnings, Promises, Mercies, Judgments; I find little of GOD in them, so that I may say, *I am more brutish than any Man, and have*

have not the Knowledge of the Holy One: O how little of Him is known! I dare not deny but I see Him darkly, whereby my Souls longs for Him, and mourns for his Absence; but yet I see Him not distinctly and clearly in his Glory with the Seeing of the Eye by that marvellous Light: O LORD my Blindness! O blessed Heaven, where we shall see GOD, not as in a Mystery, *but know as we are known!* This calls for Mourning and Humiliation, and addressing to *Christ* to open the Eyes of the Blind; and for Purity and Holiness, for these *shall see GOD*; and for *following on to know the LORD* in his Attributes, in his Son *Jesus*, in his Word, and in his Providences, by observing them.

THE second Evil is, The low Measure of GOD's Love in my Soul: I find not in GOD what doth abundantly satisfy; I meet not with that which is called *the Power of GOD*. In a Word, I am kept in a low Condition: Sanctification, Light, Life and Comfort are but sparingly let out to me; and in my Fulness I cry, I want still. This is to humble me, and make me long for Heaven; though blessed be the LORD's Name, I meet with Something, yea, more than I deserve, or ever I have been thankful for; nor did I ever kindle a Fire to Him for Nought. I comfort myself with this, that I have the Earnest, and that is but small in Respect of the Stock: That this World and Time is a Time of Wants, and therefore the LORD's People are a Generation of Seekers: That there is much in *Christ*, in the Promise, and much to be let out in Heaven.

THE third Evil is, Security and Slightness of Spirit as to spiritual Things. I am not so sensibly affected with the Evil of Sin and of a natural Con-

dition, as to wonder at GOD's Patience, to tremble for Fear, and be smitten with Compassion to others, who are yet in their Sins. Oh I am but in Jest, and half sleeping and waking; though I know that Nothing lies nearer, nor am I more exercised with any Thing, than with spiritual Things: I see no Help for this, but serious Consideration of the great Matters of the Law, and continual Prayers to GOD for Awakening and Seriousness, and less Seriousness in worldly Affairs, for these take away the Heart.

THE fourth Evil. I find a Want of the Spirit, of the Power and Demonstration of the Spirit, in Praying, Speaking and Exhorting; that whereby Men are mainly convinced, and whereby Men see more in the LORD's People than in others; whereby they are a Terror and a Wonder to others, so as they stand in Awe of them; that Glory and Majesty whereby Respect and Reverence is procured, that whereby *Christ's* Sermons were distinguished from those of the Scribes and Pharisees; *He spake as one having Authority, and not as the Scribes;* which is mentioned *Micah iii. 8. I am full of Power by the Spirit of the LORD, to declare to the House of Jacob their Sin;* which I judge to be the Beams of GOD's Majesty and Spirit of Holiness breaking out and shining through his People, whereof they, their Words and Carriage are in some Measure Partakers. But my soul Garments are on; and alas, *I am lying among the Pots:* Woe is me, the Crown of Glory and Majesty is fallen off my Head; and my Words are weak and not mighty, whereby Contempt is bred: No Remedy for this, but Humility, Self-loathing, and a studying to maintain Fellowship with GOD, for this made *Moses's* Face to shine; to walk circumspectly, for a *Man's Wisdom maketh his Face to shine;* and

to express Holiness, and glorify GOD, and then the LORD will honour thee.

THE fifth Evil. I cannot get the Lesson of patient Waiting on GOD until the End of a Trial is learned; but ordinarily, after I am set and engaged to wait, I turn impatient, and my Heart goes astray and turns careless; and then possibly, when this Thread is broken, I set myself to Duties: And then the LORD's visiting of my Spirit with new Influences, is like *Samuel's* coming to *Saul* after he had sacrificed; so I cannot say the LORD's Return hath been the Fruit of my Waiting: I think I never knew what it is to abide in a patient Waiting on GOD in a Night of Absence 'till the Morning, but unhappily give over my Dependence, and interrupt my Waiting by my Carelessness, and taking Comfort from some Creature; which tho' it proceed not from a deliberate Wilfulness, as his, *1 Kings* vi. 33. yet I do that really which he did advisedly: So that as yet I have not learned that uninterrupted Waiting. So that when the LORD visits my Soul with Thoughts of my Privileges, yet much of my Comfort is impaired through the Remembrance of my uneven Carriage during the Want of it; whereby I am moved to think, that it is come accidentally, and not in Love. It hath once comforted me to think, that though the Mercy hath not come as a Fruit of either my Waiting or Prayers, yet hath it come as a Fruit of *Christ's* Prayers and Merits and Sufferings, and this hath satisfied me.

THE sixth Evil. I cannot apply particular Mercies fully and clearly, so as to have a Persuasion of such a Mercy I am seeking for; though I gain some Application of general Promises, such as these, *Christ came to save Sinners; GOD sent not his*
Son

*Son to condemn the World; Christ came to seek and save that which was lost; which quiet my Spirit: When I am reading particular Promises, for removing such and such Straits, and for giving such and such Blessings, they do not comfort me more than in their general Nature they shew God's Goodness; and therefore I find not Strength in them to plead for such a particular Mercy, nor to persuade my Mind of it that I shall obtain it; only they in the general quiet me. And hence I am not distrustful of my Salvation, or of my Happiness in the general; but whether I shall get such a particular Mercy, or be delivered from such an Evil. Oh to know what this means, which is in *John*! We know that if we ask according to his Will, He beareth us; and this Confidence we have of Him.*

THE seventh Evil. I cannot get above the Fears of Men, so as to break out in open Defiance and Arms against the World; but am kept in strong Chains of Fear and Bashfulness to displease them, I cannot boldly reprove, exhort, or be free with many whom yet I know or strongly suspect to be in a sad Condition, especially if they be great Ones: And, when at any Time I do any Thing of this, it is with a great deal of Reluctance, nay, greater than to lay my Head down on the Block; and I strike so sparingly when I lift my Rod, that I scarce touch them, which comes from my complying and soft easy Nature; insomuch that my Neglects of such Duties have been Matter of my greatest Exercises: Yet I think I fear not so much their Prejudice or outward Loss, as to grieve and displease Men.

THE eighth Evil. I can never attain to a watchful, self-diffident and fearing Frame, when I am enlarged; but, notwithstanding my multiplied Falls,

Falls, when I am got up again, I am with *Peter* persuaded that I will never be so as before; but will confidently promise to do this or that, and will not believe that any Temptation will break this Resolution; which Confidence is not founded on the LORD, but comes from a presumptuous Trust I have in myself. In a Word, I cannot misbelieve my own Heart, nor be thoroughly persuaded of its Weakness and Deceitfulness. It is true, in great Matters I am diffident of myself, but in small Matters and Resolutions I go about them continually in my own Strength, and ever come short of them.

THE ninth Evil. I can never carry rightly in publick Occasions, but am ever the worse for them; I meet with little of GOD, and see so little of Him, and get so little Grace exercised, and am so carnal while doing any civil Business even to which I have a Call, that, prepare my Heart as I will before I go out, and watch never so carefully, I find my whole Man poisoned, and myself worse, and I come Home with a World of Challenges, so that Company and Business are a Terror to me. I never know what to do when out of my Chamber; I have not yet known what it is to traffick christi-
anly, but have been carnal in my Ends and Carriage, forgotten GOD, drowned in worldly Matters: O when shall I be spiritual in carnal Actions; in Eating, Drinking, Bargaining, doing all as GOD's Work! And when shall I get and do Good in publick Occasions!

THE tenth Evil. The Promises of the Gospel, with Scripture-consolations, quiet me in all my Afflictions; yet do not so abundantly satisfy me, as to make me *rejoice with Joy unspeakable, and full of Glory.*

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THE eleventh Evil. I can never keep my Resolutions, so as in my Practice to walk perfectly with GOD, so as to walk in Peace; but every Day I have Challenges, not for Sins of mere Infirmary, but for such Sins as might be helped, and which by mere Unwatchfulness I fall into; such as to continue long departing from GOD, entertaining vain Thoughts, idle Words, mispending Time, Excess in lawful Comforts, Sloth in private Duties, doing Things rashly, and such like, which are not of mere Infirmary. To walk thus perfectly with GOD I cannot, but there hath ever been a Breach: By what I can learn, I never kept my Vows even when the Matter was possible.

THE twelfth Evil. Above all, I find a great Unwillingness to teach, exhort and do Good to others, or to glorify GOD publickly; I cannot delight in this, nor go about this in Faith of a Blessing, nor with Success, nor earnestly; but there is with me much constrained Work, many Occasions slighted of going about it, and the Heart itself dead and heartless, and untouched with the Glory of GOD, or the Good of the Person, especially if unconverted.

SECT. 3. *Declaring my present Exercises.*

My Life is a Mystery to me; what I purpose, that I do not: Though I have been little advanced in these fore-mentioned Exercises; yet hath the LORD been exercising me with some Things beyond my Design; as,

I. I HAVE been called to exercise the Life of Faith, to walk by it and not by Sight; in which, by the LORD's Revelation of the Gospel, and from
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some Consideration on 2 Cor. v. 7. I have been exercised, especially through Temptations, which seek to make me misbelieve.

2. I HAVE learned and some Way exercised Patience, which is a continued Submission and quiet Obedience, and the Constancy of the Spirit, in not being shaken or moved or diverted with Evil; and I have this Lesson continually in my Head, and therein have made some Progress.

3. I AM learning to read Love in the greatest Afflictions, Plagues, and Disappointments; and to put good Constructions on all God's Dealings; and when any Thing comes, though never so cross, I first enquire, What Love can I see in this?

4. I AM casting out and have cast out the Bond-woman and her Child out of my Soul, I mean, the slavish Spirit of Fear, bringing in daily evangelical Principles, so that now I find more Faith and Love in my Actings.

5. I AM studying Sobriety in my Affections and Carriage, seeking after Moderation, in not being much moved with any Occurrence, studying always to be kept within Bounds, and to be my own Master.

6. I AM taken up with observing Providences, especially in Reference to myself, to see what God's Ends may be in them, why they are sent, and what is suitable Duty; but, above all, to see God in them, in his Wisdom, Holiness and Love.

7. I AM enabled to study and exercise Thankfulness; the greatest Help whereunto is, the Consideration that all Favours are from God, and so many

many Pledges of Heaven, and bought with the Blood of *Christ*.

8. I AM studying to know the Glory of Heaven, to be drawing all my Consolations from this, and to be making it my Treasure.

9. I AM studying to make *Christ* my All, even *Wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification, and Redemption*; and in Want of All, to live in, and on, and from Himself alone.

Lastly, I LEARN Dependence on GOD in outward Straits, to recommend all Things to Him, to believe on Him for Deliverance, to comfort myself from Him, waiting to observe his Hand in supporting under and delivering from manifold Troubles; and from these Experiences to increase in Love and Faith: And indeed I have found manifold Experiences of late of outward Deliverances; so that my Life hath been a continual coming in and out of Troubles, and every Trouble seemed a remediless one, 'till GOD freed me out of it.

SECT. 4. *Rules for ordering my Speech, Behaviour and Practice.*

THE LORD'S People walk by Rule; their Life is fitly compared, *Heb. xii. 1.* to a Race: And I have therefore thought upon some general Rules to be observed as the Foundation of all true Religion.

I. *General Rules.*

1st. LABOUR to know and find out wherein a Man's chief Happiness doth consist: Have an End to follow; 'till a Man intend right, he can never have a right Motion. Fix the Heart in the Belief

Belief of this, that the Enjoyment of GOD in *Cbrist* is our Happiness; and make the Heart to close with this.

2d Rule. IT will much contribute to our Motion in the Way to be armed with a strong and deliberate Resolution to walk in such Ways; this will determine us, *Psalms cxix. 106, 111. I have chosen thy Precepts as mine Heritage for ever. I have sworn, and I will perform it, that I will observe all thy righteous Judgments.* Consider and weigh the Advantages and Disadvantages of Religion, and then thoroughly determine and bind thyself with the strongest Engagements; be positive, not halting.

3d Rule. LABOUR to have and keep right Thoughts of GOD: Fix a lovely Character of GOD in thy Heart, fix the Faith of GOD's Attributes, study this most; *This is Life eternal.*

4th Rule. BE always in Duty; Racers must keep the Path: Never be idle. As there is an End, so there is a Way; never sit still. Lay it as a Foundation, to be always in Duty; never to quit that, whatever be, *1 Cor. xv. 58. Always abounding in the Work of the LORD.* We by Idleness lose much; we are employed in such a Work as we must not suffer to grow cold. Oh our Interruptions do us much Prejudice! Little and little makes good Speed at last.

5th Rule. MAKE the Scriptures thy Rule; think, love, judge and do according to this. Examine all Things: As a Man hath an End and Way, so hath he a Rule to direct him; this is the Scriptures, reject all other Guides but this.

6th Rule. LIVE near the LORD always; that which is exprest in Scripture by *walking with GOD, setting Him always at our Right-hand.* Let Heart, Thoughts and Affections retain ever some Impressions of his Presence; fear always: Keep yourselves in the Love of GOD; if departed, return again; if returned, keep with Him. All Good is with GOD, and all Ill comes from his Absence and Distance; *Woe unto them, when I leave them.* Lose not your Guide by any Means; He is *all Things, Life, Light, Strength and Health: Wait continually on thy GOD. Without Me ye can do Nothing.* It is good for me to draw near to GOD.

7th Rule. Never murmur; justify the LORD always; submit to every Dispensation; let your Spirits be never rankled or fired, *Micah vi. 8. Walk humbly with thy GOD.*

8th Rule. KEEP your Spirits in an equal Balance, *1 Pet. v. 8. Be sober;* suffer not your Passions to run to Excess: Sober in weeping, rejoicing, speaking, doing, fearing. Be always Master of thyself, unshaken.

9th Rule. BEWARE of Worldly-mindedness, and being too much engaged in the World; *He that warreth doth not intangle himself in the Affairs of this Life, 2 Tim. ii. 4.* Have as little to do in the World as ye can; take no more in Hand than ye are well able to master: If engaged, flee as a Bird out of the Snare, and put thy House in Order, but put the World out of thy Heart especially; *No Man can serve two Masters.*

10th Rule. BE watchful: Beware of a Spirit of Slumber, stand always on your Guard; *Watch in all Things; Blessed is the Man that feareth always.*

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Be always suspicious; never turn secure or careless; remember your Adversary is still busy, and his Snares are continually set: *Be vigilant* therefore, keep your Eyes always open; look and ponder every Thing; be not rash or hasty.

11th Rule. BE diligent in the Means both publick and private; in Hearing, Meditation, Christian Conference, ejaculatory Prayer, Reading; especially private Prayer, a Man cannot be a Christian without this. Ye cannot work or travel, unless ye eat. *The Hand of the Diligent maketh rich.*

2. Rules I follow in my daily Walk: Or, some special Rules for ordering my own particular Conversation.

1st Rule. IN Imitation of *Christ* and his Apostles, and to get Good done, I purpose to rise early every Morning.

2d Rule. To propose, when I am up, the Work of the Day, and how and when to do it, and engage my Heart to it, and at Even to call myself to Account, and to mourn for Failing.

3d Rule. To spend a competent Portion of Time every Day in Prayer, Reading, Meditating, spiritual Exercises, Morning, Mid-day, Evening, and before I go to Bed.

4th Rule. ONCE in the Month, either the End or Middle of it, I keep a Day of Humiliation for the publick Condition, for the LORD's People and their sad Condition, for the raising up the Work and People of God.

5th Rule. I SPEND beside this, one for my own private Condition, in conflicting with spiritual Evils, and to get my Heart more holy.

6th Rule. I SPEND every Week once, four Hours over and above my daily Portion in private for some special Causes relating either to myself or others.

7th Rule. To spend some Time on *Saturday* towards Night for Preparation to the Sabbath.

8th Rule. To spend six or seven Days together once in a Year, when I have the greatest Convenience, wholly on spiritual Accounts.

9th Rule. My ordinary and extraordinary Works, which every Day I strive to finish, are, to mortify Sin, to perfect Holiness in the Fear of the LORD, to glorify GOD, to instruct others and do them Good, to attend on and walk closely with the LORD: This I propose every Day to myself to do, and at Even I examine myself of my Progress and Diligence therein; this is my Work and Exercise.

3. *Rules in Speaking.*

I HAVE found by Scripture and Experience how much it concerns us to watch our Tongue, it being that Instrument whereby we may do most Ill or Good to others. I will therefore set down some Rules which I have proposed to myself for ordering my Words.

1st Rule. Speak no idle Language, that hath no Profit or Edification, such as frothy Words, *foolish Talking*

Talking or Jestling; but let them be seasoned with Grace, as with Salt.

2d Rule. SPEAK not much; be sparing in Discourse, *Slow to speak. In the Multitude of Words there wants not Sin.*

3d Rule. SPEAK soberly both as to Matter and Manner. A meek quiet Spirit is calm in Words; loud, violent, earnest Speaking argues a proud, distempered, unmortified Heart.

4th Rule. SPEAK not rashly nor hastily; be not precipitate in speaking; advise before you speak; do not out with every Thing you conceive: *The Righteous studieth to answer.*

5th Rule. SPEAK weightily and seriously, reverently and gravely, in religious Discourses especially. *Christ spake as one having Authority.* Our Speech as to the Manner, as well as to the Matter, should betray us that we *have been with Jesus.* Be not slight or careless.

6th Rule. IN Speaking, it were good to be looking up in Prayer to GOD in Heart; as if you have spoken amiss, Oh LORD pardon; when you are called to speak, Oh LORD open my Mouth, and help to a seasonable Word; to seek a Blessing, LORD bless what I am to discourse to my Neighbour.

7th Rule. SPEAK in Fear: It were good to have a Bridle always in the Mouth, and no Word to get out without Permission, *Psalms xxxix. 1. It was ill said, Our Lips are our own, who is Lord over us?* As there is Eating without Fear, so there is Speaking without Fear.

8th Rule. LET not your Neighbour's Faults be the Subject of your Talk, tho' it be true. *Who backbiteth not*, Psalm xv. 3. Shew thy Neighbour his Faults.

9th Rule. SPEAK not of thyself or Worth; *Let another praise thee, and not thine own Mouth*, neither directly nor indirectly: Let thy Works praise thee.

4. Rules in our Actions.

I SHALL comprehend in this both Civil and Religious Actions.

1st Rule. Do nothing without Foresight; let thine Eye of Knowledge guide thee continually in the Way thou art to walk in. *First search and try your Ways*, then turn. *Ponder the Path of thy Feet*. Do all Things as a Man, and by Rule, *Prov. iv. 26.* so shalt thou have Peace.

2d Rule. WHATEVER thou do, do it spiritually as the LORD's Work; as to Him, because commanded by Him, *Eph. vi. 6, 7, 8. Col. iii. 23.*

3d Rule. LABOUR for Spirituality in your outward Deportments, as well as in your Hearts, in a grave, wise, sober and humble Carriage. *Be holy in all Manner of Conversation*, 1 Pet. i. 14, 15. Let Holiness be on Bells, Pots, Bridles and Horses, *Zech. xiv. 20, 21.* Have on the Wedding-Garment.

4th Rule. IN Midst of Business look up ever and anon to Heaven by ejaculatory Prayer, to preserve the Soul from Corruption; and keep Divine Impressions, that they die not out.

5th Rule.

5th Rule. **WHATEVER** thou dost, depend on the **LORD**; do Nothing without Him, but *in all thy Ways acknowledge Him.*

6th Rule. **WHATEVER** you do, do it with all thine Heart, *i. e.* quickly without Delay, and heartily doing what thou dost only, and nothing else.

7th Rule. **BE** sober in what you do: Eat, drink, marry and buy, as tho' you did it not, in an holy Indifferency, referring the Event to **GOD**. Be not fretted with Cares, lay not out too much Affection with your Actions; but *let your Moderation be known to all Men, the LORD is at Hand.*

8th Rule. **REST** not in Actions, but seek the End of an Action. Rest not in Prayer, but labour to attain the End of Prayer by Meditation and Prayer. Be not like Children shooting at Random without a Mark.

5. Rules for our Conversation.

1st Rule. **MARK** your Carriage, immediately after you have been near **GOD**; see what Deportment ye are then inclined to follow, and study that always.

2d Rule. **FOLLOW** that Kind of Conversation wherein you have most Peace after serious Reflections on your Ways: I think, little Peace shall be found in a light carnal Conversation.

3d Rule. **LOOK** to the Carriage of *Christ*, his Apostles and Prophets, and study that Conversation that you think was *Christ's* or the Apostles; this was not a laughing, frothy, vain, light Conversation.

tion. When therefore thou art examining such a Carriage, ask, Would *Christ* have done this?

4th Rule. A GRAVE serious Conversation, mixt with Serenity, is a good Conversation; and this is like *Christ*, this is suitable to our great Work and Aims. Let the mad Children of the World trifle and play, we are called to Seriousness.

5th Rule. BE circumspect in your Conversation, and wise, especially towards them that are without, Eph. v. 15. Eccl. ii. 14. Keep up the Christian Decorum: Let nothing escape thee but what is befitting the Majesty of a Christian; labour not to disparage that at all. Walk worthy of your Calling.

6th Rule. WALK kindly, lovingly and courteously; be ready to serve all: A tart rigid Carriage is not good; *The Son of Man came eating and drinking.* Stoicism is not Christianity. Through thy Gravity and Holiness let Love appear; receive all; become all Things to all Men; yea, let your Reproofs be in Love.

SECT. 5. *Declaring some of Satan's Devices, whereby the Work of Sanctification hath been hindered.*

1. AFTER Falls and Slips, Satan has sought to astonish me with my Fall, and to amaze and confuse me so with what I had done, thereby I was kept from getting up on my Feet, and going forwards; like those that running a Race catch a Fall, and are therewith so perplexed, thinking what to do, that in the mean Time they lose much Time, and are far behind. The best Way were to get up, and consider our Ways, mourn, seek Pardon, and then

then go to Work; *Joshua*, Chap. vii. 10. after the smiting of *Israel*, lies complaining; the LORD saith thus, *Wherefore liest thou thus?* Up to thy Work. So in *Job xxxiv. 32.* *If thou hast done wickedly, what is done cannot be helped, do so no more.* He doth not say, amaze and distract yourselves with Cares; for, *Who can by thinking add one Cubit to his Stature?*

2. IN making me think that because I come not up the full Length of Duty, or to do it in that Manner and Form that is required, I had better omit it; whereby it hath come to pass that Nothing hath been done at all, GOD not honoured, and others not profited; not considering that doing the Duty as we may, is a Mean to the better doing of it. Hence the Duty of Reproof hath been omitted, because I could not do it so freely, evangelically and plainly as the LORD requires; this is Over-driving: But it is better paying what we may, than let all run on our Head. When *David* saw what Reverence was required to the Ark, he let it alone; *Who can stand?* Unbelief whereby the Soul thinks GOD such a hard Master that will exact to the uttermost, and Pride in disdaining to do any Thing but what may be worthy or meritorious, are the Causes of this Deceit.

3. BY injecting Thoughts materially good, yet impertinent to the Exercise the Soul for the present is called unto; whereby my Purpose hath been broken, my Spirit made vain, no Good done, nor Peace in it: And when other palpably sinful Thoughts have been extruded, these real Enemies, yet seeming Friends, have been let in, because of their Sheep's Clothing; yet it is but the Devil transforming himself into an *Angel of Light*. The Righteous *bringeth forth Fruit in Season*; these Thoughts are vain, because fruitless and unseasonable.

4. IN

4. IN doing of Duties, and not seeking to attain the End of Duties; not because I thought this worthy, but I thought it sufficient if the LORD was honoured: And in this Snare I am ordinarily i-trapped, tho' beaten out of Formality. I have been like Children who shoot, but at no Mark, only that they may shoot; or as when they set their Paper-boats to Sea, but look for nothing else than to see them swim upon the Waters; and so it may be said of them, *There is no End of their Labour*. And hence I have exhorted, not to convert or edify, but because commanded, and to shew Obedience; and thus have waited on the LORD in private and publick Means, not for supplying of Wants or drawing near unto GOD, but merely to do Homage unto Him: Whereby there is a standing still, and no Progress; Duties render'd a Burden, because no End intended; and my Motion irregular, because no End to direct: And so I have wrought at Random.

5. UNDER the Pretence of waiting on the LORD for Strength, I have been driven to gaze, and neglect the Duty itself, when there hath been an Opportunity; so, in preparing for Prayer, have neglected Prayer: In looking for Strength and Grace to edify when in Company nothing hath been done.

6. To neglect the Practice of Grace and Duty, by resting in the sweet and relishing Speculation thereof, and Resolution to do it; I have been taken up with the Sweetness of Duty on the Mind, but not so careful to practice it, tho' there have been some slight Resolutions. This I thought sufficient, or else through Security I have not expected Difficulty in the Practice; and so, knowing and approving and teaching others the Law yet neglecting it.

7. I HAVE

7. I HAVE been much hindered from Duty, by studying the Manner of Duty, rather than the Substance of it; by studying Faith in Prayer, rather than Prayer in Faith; by studying Openness and Plain-dealing in reproving, rather than Re-proof itself; by studying Constancy in Watching, rather than Watching itself: Which I have found to proceed from Pride, choosing the Excellency of it, rather than the Thing itself.

8. SATAN subtilly presses the Doing of many Things at once, which is impossible; that so, dividing my Spirit with several Objects, Nothing may be well done: So that when I came to say, What have I to do? It is answered, Ye have this, and that, and the other Thing; when I am called to one Thing, I address to another, and thus troubled with many Things, like *Martha*, Luke x. 41, 42. with which one Thing, if my Spirit were taken up, I might come to some Profit, and get it done; but, seeking to grasp too much, I let all go. When many crowd out or in at a Passage, they hinder one another; but the Rule is, *Whatever thou dost, do it with all thy Might, i. e.* Let thy Heart be taken up wholly with that one Thing while thou art doing it, and with no other.

9. SATAN's transforming into an Angel of Light, by gilding Vice with Appearance of Virtue: Hence have I been tempted to Lightness, Excess in Comforts, under Pretence of shunning Unthankfulness, and of not using Christian Liberty, and of walking uncomfortably. Prayer under Indisposition hath been shunned, lest I should render the easy Yoke of *Christ* a grievous Burden: Whereby Sin hath prevailed by these, tho' it hath been overcome when it appeared in its own Cloathing.

10. IN following the Disposition of my Spirit as a Rule in Reference to Duty, rather than the Call of Providence; whereby many Occasions of doing Good have been lost thro' Indisposition to these Duties, and some seeming Dispositions to do other Duties.

11. SATAN by making me pore excessively on Evidences of Grace, and by occupying me in laying continually the Foundation, hath kept me from my Work, and from my Progress in Grace; in which Exercises if I had been as diligent as in Examination of myself, I might have been assured more quickly. It is true, we should examine our States, 2 Cor. xiii. 5. but it is wrong to be continually taken up with this; so that when called to Patience, and Believing, and Honouring of God, Satan hath said, Lay a Foundation before ye build a Superstructure: But it is dangerous to be trying our Armour when we are called to fight.

12. IN not prizing or esteeming little Mercies, because common, and fear to rest in them; thus *despising the Day of small Things.*

13. IN not shunning little Evils, fearing to be thereby *tything the Annise and Cummin.*

14. BY *limiting of the holy One of Israel*; by cutting out and prescribing to GOD a Way of helping me; and when He hath not come in my Way, I could not imagine his Coming a Mercy. Hence I have proposed GOD's Way with other Christians, and their Exercises, as the Way to the Spirit to deal with me; and not finding this, I have been discouraged, and disquieted, and unthankful, and *spent my Labour and Strength in vain*, in gazing after that, and labouring to walk
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in a Path the LORD was not willing to lead me. I have limited the LORD in his Way, by portraying to myself, and conceiving such a Grace, and under such a Notion and Form; so that if I had not that very Form, tho' I had it really, yet did I not think I had it. Oh, under what various Terms doth the LORD express one Thing, that Folk might not restrict Grace to one Notion!

15. UNDER the Pretence of Discretion, Prudence and Patience, I have neglected the Life and Zeal of Actions. Oh, what Ills lie disguised under Moderation, Sobriety, Patience, and Christian Liberty!

16. I HAVE neglected the outward Practice of Repentance, under Pretence that the LORD requires the Heart; but we should serve the LORD both in Body and in Spirit. It is true, we should not rest in the outward, or mainly look thereunto, but should look to the Heart mostly; yet should not the outward Act be neglected.





C H A P. VI.

*Of my Call to the Ministry.*SECT. I. *The Grounds upon which I judged myself called to the Ministry.*

1. **I** WAS much concerned to know whether I was indeed called by the LORD to the Exercise of the Ministry, or whether any Inclination or Pressure of Spirit I had thereto did proceed from my own Fancy; for I can never think that any will discharge this Office aright, who hath not a Sense of his Divine Call upon his Spirit: For such as the LORD hath not called, it is threatened that they *shall not profit this People*, Jer. xxiii. 32. Therefore it is of much Concernment to us to be clear in this.

2. THEREFORE did I judge it my Duty to endeavour to have my Call cleared to me, and for this Cause set apart some solemn Days, in which by Fasting and Prayer, both before I entered into the Ministry and after, I earnestly besought the LORD for Light in this Matter: The Issue of all such Deliberations was, that I was inclined to think, from what I could gather from GOD's Word or Work, that He did call me to *bear his Name*, to *deliver from the Power of Satan to GOD*, to *witness for GOD*, that the Works of the World were Evil.

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3. THE Grounds upon which I was convinced the LORD called me were, 1. That I was not now to expect audible Voices from Heaven in an extraordinary Manner, saying, *Arise, preach the Gospel*; however Apostles and extraordinary Prophets were so called: Therefore, tho' I did not receive any extraordinary Voice within or without, there was no Reason upon that Account to doubt of my Call. 2. That much less was a Man's own Imagination to be counted a Call from GOD; for many think they are called of GOD, as *Jer. xxiii.* whom the LORD *hath not sent.* 3. That any Act of Man doth not give a Call to any Minister; for Ordination by Ministers, or Election by the People, which are the two Means by which it is pretended this Call is conveyed, are Posteriors to this Call of GOD: And, besides, Ministers may ordain, and People may elect, such as were never called of GOD.

4. As the Revelation of GOD's Word in all Ages hath been the Rule whereby to discern who have been called of GOD to be his Servants, and who not; and therefore, when GOD revealed Himself immediately to his Prophets, this immediate Revelation published by the Prophets was the Ground of Faith and Rule of Practice: So now, the Revelation of GOD's Will being in the Scripture, it follows that by the Scriptures only we can know who are his Ministers called of Him, and who are not; and this Knowledge is as certain as any Knowledge that could be had from the Prophets of Old, and as clear and evident. The Scriptures then I must look into, and by them know whether the LORD hath called me or not. The General I find in several Places of Scripture: *Luke xix. 13. Occupy 'till I come.* *1 Pet. iv. 10. As every one hath received the Gift, so let him mini-*

ster unto another. I Cor. xii. 7. *The Manifestation of the Spirit is given to profit withal.* By all these Scriptures I gather, that whatever Talents Men have received from *Christ*, they are not to lie idle, nor to be kept in a Napkin, but that they are to be exercised for GOD: And this Scripture, *Occupy 'till I come*, is the general Warrant that Ministers and all other Persons of different Occupations have to discharge their Office. If any then enquire, What is my Call to preach? I answer, Our LORD's Command and Call, *Occupy 'till I come*. Ministers in preaching do but occupy 'till *Christ* comes. And here is my first Ground. But,

5. BY this general Call none is particularly engaged to follow the Ministry but such as are qualified: For he who is fitted for an Artificer, for a Scholar, for a Lawyer, for a Physician; altho' he is bound by this General to employ his Talent for GOD, yet is not every one by this Scripture bound to discharge the Office of the Ministry. It is therefore further requisite to a Divine Call, that the Person be fitted more for this, than for any Thing else: He therefore who is not qualified for the Ministry, is not called; and he who is more fitted for this than for any Thing else, is called of GOD, because he is called to minister as he hath received, I *Pet.* iv. 10. A Man's Talent is the Determiner of that General, *Occupy 'till I come*. Now I begin to see what is my Talent; and truly there was no other Thing I was more fitted for than preaching and serving GOD in the Ministry: And tho' my Parts were but weak, and my Talent small, especially in the Beginning; yet did I see some Measure of Divine Preparation for this Work, and truly more than for any other Employment, and therefore did I judge I was bound to occupy for GOD in that Work. Some natural

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Endowments I had, by which I was sufficiently capable of any Science: The Dealings of God with my Spirit in the Way of Conversion were very distinct; and tho' I could not see but confusedly at first, yet afterwards I perceived that Work very distinctly: And not only so; the LORD did not only, by Conversion begun and renewed, fit me for the Ministry, but gave me great Experience of the exceeding Evil of my Heart, of the Terrors of GOD, that so I might know how to persuade others. He likewise opened my Eyes to see the glorious Mysteries of the Covenant of Grace, telling me Something every Day as it were: And truly I had not been many Days in *Christ's* School, when I thought I was come to a new World; my former Life seemed a dark howling Wilderness, and the Life of Grace I looked upon as the lightsome *Canaan*, the Harbour of Rest. Various Conflicts I had with Unbelief, and much exercised with the Law and the Bond-woman. I was much helped by some old Writers; but especially by reading the Epistle to the *Romans*, by Prayer and Meditation, by which I came to receive very much Satisfaction in my Mind in the Gospel. Now I thought the great Pains the LORD did take in this with me, the Experience also I had of great Afflictions, and the LORD's Support under them, and delivering from them, and sanctifying the same to me, by instructing me in many Lessons by the Rod; What should all this mean, but that the LORD gives me Experience of these Things, to the End that I should *make* this his *Righteousness known in the great Congregation*? If this be *spoken in my Ear*, shall I not divulge it *on the House tops*? And was not all this to qualify me, and make me a fit Minister of the New Testament? This was a second Consideration to clear my Call to me.

6. THE LORD did by his Spirit apply the general Call particularly to my Soul: He brought home that Word, *Occupy 'till I come*; and told me the LORD called me to *serve Him in the Gospel of his Son*: For Gifts and Abilities to preach and pray are not a sufficient Call to a Man to be a Minister, tho' they be necessary to the Call. A Man's natural Gift and Ability for any Magistracy doth not presently call him to that Office; and some have Gifts for divers Offices, that yet are called but to one. And hence it is, that a Man's Call to the Office of the Ministry is in some Things different from the Call of Believing: For it doth not oblige any particularly to the Work of the Ministry without the Working of the Spirit: And therefore is the Application of the Spirit, in the Matter of the Call to the Ministry, a very necessary Part, and requisite not only to enable us to the Thing as it is in the Case of Believing, but likewise to warrant that particular Thing. For, however the general Call, *Occupy 'till I come*, warrant such as have Parts and Talents to employ them for God; yet doth it not warrant a godly able Man to exercise his Talents in a publick ministerial Way more than any others, until the Spirit determine his Spirit: And this I found the Spirit did likewise to me, (1.) In representing to my Soul the Beauty and Glory of the Office of the Ministry. O to serve the LORD in this! said I; Nothing is like it! To *testify* for God, to hold forth *the Riches of Christ*, to bear his Name; What more honourable Employment! And like as the Merchant must see the Pearl before he buy it, *Matt. xiii. 45.* and we must *see the Son* before we believe in Him, so that the Beauty and Glory of the Work of the Ministry must be seen before we take with it. (2.) The LORD by his Spirit did incline my Heart to this Work; and so many

Times

Times I was taken off from other Studies and Exercises, and was set on this, and many Times did I ardently desire it; yea, I had marvellous Delight in the Exercise of any Work belonging to the Ministry, in reading of Divinity, meditating upon or writing my Thoughts, studying or preaching of Sermons: And truly Parents send their Children to those Trades that they observe them to be most of themselves inclined to. (3.) By preparing and qualifying me for that Employment; by renewing a distinct Work of Conversion in my Soul; by exercising me with various outward Afflictions; by discovering to me the Mystery of Grace and the Gospel: And the more fitted I was, the more inclined to the Work; and though I studied but little, yet the LORD blessed it marvellously. (4.) By doing my Soul good, in being exercised in preparing for the Ministry: For it was by studying to preach, and Meditation on several Subjects, that my Soul recovered out of my first Backsliding; and by meditating upon Subjects, and preaching of them, I daily grew in Grace and Knowledge of *Christ*.

7. THE LORD not only by his Spirit working inwardly upon me, but likewise by his Work, did clear that He called me: For my Heart was utterly averse to any other Study or Employment; all Attempts, Designs and Endeavours to settle in any other Station were crushed and broken, and Matters in the World went still worse and worse, 'till I resolved and engaged with the Work of the Ministry; and from that Time I observed the Weather turned, and my Captivity was turned back. What Judgment can I make of the LORD's barring all other Doors, and opening this, but that I should go in here, and look to no other Thing?

8. I AM much confirmed in my Call to the Ministry by that Providence of the Vows I made to this Purpose; that the LORD should so soon testify his Approbation thereof, and answer me so suddenly, so clearly, so fully: For my Want of Assurance was my great Doubt, and that which made me afraid to engage in the Ministry; whereupon I vowed solemnly, that if the LORD should clear up my Interest to me, and reveal the Mystery of the Gospel to me, I would then apply myself to the Ministry, provided the LORD did answer this in five Years. But the LORD in less than six Weeks answered it; for in a Month, or thereabout, did the LORD convince me of Faith, called me to believe, opened his Covenant to me, never left me 'till I believed it, and then sealed it with the Spirit of Assurance: And in my Vow I said, that, if the LORD would hearken to me, in clearing these Things, I would look on it as an evident Token he called me to serve Him in the Gospel.

9. ABOUT the latter End of the Year 1665, I remember the LORD put this Call close to my Door, told me I was to be his Witness, to testify for Him against the World, to do all the Good I could to Mankind wherever I was called; and that I should make this my only Work, and be faithful, free and full in it; that many Things needed Reformation, and that the LORD would employ me in it. This was pressed much on me; and because I refused, and, like *Jonah*, fled from the LORD, He sent a Storm of Terrors after me, and and I was cast into a Sea and Depth of Hell many Weeks: The Work I was called to was so hard, that I durst not undertake it, but delayed it.

10. ANOTHER Consideration, that cleared my Call to me, was, That the Ministers and faithful
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Servants of *Jesus Christ* did solemnly examine my Call, and after Trial of my Gifts and Conversation by several Exercises recommended me, being intimately and of a long Time acquainted with me, having preached frequently in their Hearing, and were so far satisfied with me, that unanimously, without the least Censure, they agreed to trust me with the Dispensation of the Gospel; and this was in the Year 1672. They were better Judges than myself, and they found the LORD had called me, and therefore did in the Name of *Christ* declaratively empower me to exercise the Office of the Ministry.

Lastly, WHEN I consider the Effects which followed on my Admission to the Ministry, I am much confirmed in my Call; for by Preaching, and discharging my Duty otherwise, I myself was watered, my Gifts increased, more of the LORD's Will was made known to me, and my Labours blessed to many, to whose Heart and Case the LORD made me many Times speak: And though, while I was in *Scotland*, I never received nor would take a Sixpence for Preaching, but lived upon what was my own; yet I prospered much in my outward Estate in the World, I cleared my Debts, I reserved some Part of my Estate to my Debts, and maintained myself; I married all my Sisters, inso-much that in fourteen Years I was better by eight or nine hundred Pounds *Sterling* than when I began. And this I looked upon as a Token of the LORD's Acceptance of my Labours.

As to the Nature of my particular Call to preach the Gospel; by ought I can discern through the Moving of GOD's Spirit, or the Encouragement I had thereto, it was not to preach to any particular Flock

Flock only, gathered or ungathered; but it was to preach to the whole World. The LORD had scattered both Shepherds and Flocks; we were then to preach wherever we could find People: Yea, tho' I had three Calls from three different Societies of Christians, yet did I not incline to fix with any: My Commission, I thought, was rather indefinite than definite; *Preach the Gospel to every Creature under Heaven.* (2.) And hence I was called to preach in a vagrant Manner, sometimes at one Place, sometimes at another, here and there, up and down the Country, as I was called by the People, not staying above a Week in one Place. I loved not fixed Stipends and Pulpits, while the LORD *Jesus* Himself was unfixed; but thought it most kindly to follow the wandering Ark and Tabernacle. (3.) The chief Things I was called to preach and declare were, Man's Misery by Nature, the Nature of Regeneration and Salvation by *Christ*, and my Spirit did more freely go out in a Gospel-strain than in a legal. I never in my Sermons reflected upon the Persons of Rulers or Councils; neither laboured to stir up the People, nor did I insist upon publick Differences: The substantial Truths of Religion were the ordinary Subject of my Discourses, and it was *Christ and Him crucified* that I was mostly called to preach. (4.) I was called to preach plainly, particularly, and authoritatively, as the Messenger of *Jesus Christ*, with all Sorts of Persons; yet courteously, wisely, meekly, and gently: Not to speak in a Cloud of general Words, but, *Thou art the Man*, to reach Home; nor yet to speak lightly or slightly, but seriously and gravely, that it may be revered and regarded by those to whom it is directed: For both we should speak, and they hear, as the Word of GOD. (5.) I was called to *serve GOD in the Gospel*

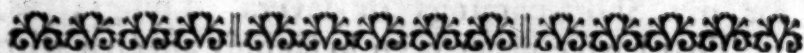
Gospel of his Son, as my only Work, to make this my Trade and Calling, in which only, diligently, in *Season and out of Season*, to be employed; and to take no other Thing in Hand, but wholly to be given to this: *Give thyself wholly to these Things*, saith the Apostle to *Timothy*. Acts vi. 16. *We will give ourselves to the Word and Prayer*. I was called, (6.) to discharge the Work of my Calling in a special Dependence on God, for Light, Life, Assistance, Wisdom, and a Blessing. No Calling, no Work is there under Heaven, wherein there is more Need of Dependence on God: Alas! we know neither what to say, nor how to say; *We are not sufficient for these Things, but our Sufficiency is of God*. Nor ought we to speak any Thing, but as the LORD giveth Utterance.

By this I perceive it is not every Person, yea, every Christian or Saint, that is a fit and qualified Person for the Ministry; they must be *polished Shafts*. Right *Interpreters* are rare Persons, *One of a Thousand*, Job xxxiii. 23. Nay, very few of those who are called of Men, are called of GOD to the Ministry: For, 1. Ministers must be Persons of good Parts and Endowments, able to convince and put to Silence Adversaries; they must have Knowledge and Learning more than others. 2. They must be Saints and Christians before they be Ministers; for *how shall Satan cast out Satan*? What do all his Gifts profit, if a Man want Grace or Charity? Is he not as a *tinkling Cymbal*? How shall such *persuade* others, who themselves never *knew the Terrors of the LORD*? Shall they tell others the Way to Heaven, that never themselves travelled that Way? Is not this for *the Blind to lead the Blind*? Can a Blessing be expected on the Labours of such? 3. He must have a more than ordinary

ordinary Stock and Measure of Grace, of Knowledge, Patience, Zeal, Experience, Sobriety, Watchfulness, Faith; they cannot without this be *One of a Thousand*: He must be one acquainted in some Measure with *Satan's* Devices, and with the Corners of the little World, the *Heart*. 4. A godly, heavenly, pure and spiritual Conversation and Behaviour, must illustrate what he delivers in Preaching. To exemplify a godly Life, is a clear Confirmation of a Minister's Doctrine; and if it do not convert them, yet still it will convince them: And when the Conversation is contrary, or short of the Doctrine preached, that Man *destroyeth what he buildeth*, he unpreacheth and confutes what he preaches, and gives Occasion to People to think Religion a Stage-play. 5. The Minister must have the Sense of his Charge, the Danger of immortal Souls, deeply imprinted on his Heart; it must be clear to him, that the LORD hath called him, and to what he is called, and the Weight and Import of his Charge. It is a Matter of Life and Death: Hence the Charge of Prophesying, committed to the Prophets, is called a *Burden*. He that hath but slight Impressions of his Charge, will never faithfully discharge it. 6. He must be a tender-hearted Man, ready to sympathize with all that are in Affliction either inward or outward. Compassion puts Ministers to do much for the Souls of People; and, when People see the Compassion of Ministers, it takes much with them. 7. They must always live near GOD; they must be, with *Moses*, much in the Mount. 8. They must be bold courageous Men; *not afraid of the Faces of Men*, but *setting their Face as a Flint*. Of all these Qualifications I had some small Measure, of some more, of some less; though of none what I ought to have.

YET I find I have great Reason to be humbled for my Short-comings in several Things; as,
1. That I have never been so sensibly affected with the great Charge the LORD hath put upon me.
2. In that I have not applied myself wholly to these Things, nor given myself to the Word and Prayer as my only Work. 3. I have not had that Tenderneſs towards perishing Souls, nor such Sense of God's Preſence and the Matters I have been ſpeaking of. 4. I have not ſo depended for Counſel, Direction, Strength and a Bleſſing from GOD: I have ſpoken in my own Wiſdom too much, and have not had Things ſo purely from GOD.
5. The Duty of particular Exhortation was much ſlighted; many Means, as private Conference, writing of Letters, of ſaving and edifying Souls, have been neglected. 6. My Converſation hath not been ſo ſhining and convincing as became a Miniſter. 7. I was many Times timorous and baſhful, when I ſhould boldly have appeared againſt Sin and for GOD. For theſe, with many ſinful Defects, I deſire to mourn and be humbled before the LORD, and to ſeek Mercy through the Blood of *Jeſus Chriſt*.





C H A P. VII.

Of my Marriage and Widowhood.

AT that Time the Church of *Christ* had great Rest and Liberty from Persecution thro' Variance amongst the Statesmen, I was as busy as I could, and in *August* had gone North, and dispatched some Business there: I returned South, but a violent Persecution had broken out, and there began to be Fining, Imprisoning, taking and summoning of Persons, disturbing of Meetings with Soldiers. Yet the Gospel prevailed more and more, and we were like the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, the more we were afflicted, the more we grew and multiplied. Some Hot-heads were for taking the Sword, and redeeming themselves from the Hands of Oppressors: But I opposed rising in Arms all I could, and exhorted them to Patience and courageous using the Sword of the Spirit; and I did not see they had any Call to the Sword, that their *Strength was to sit still*: And, if they did stir and take the Sword, they would therewith perish; but, if they patiently suffered and endured, God would himself some Way support and deliver them. I had Influence with the People; and, whilst I was at Liberty, I did what I could to keep them peaceable. The Truth is, there were great Provocations given, so that we concluded it was the Design of some Rulers to stir us up that we might fall. Ministers still preached and laboured amongst the People, many were brought in; the Work of God in the Midst of Persecution did always prosper, until we destroy-
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ed ourselves; first by needless Divisions and Difference in Opinion happening by reason of the Indulgence; and after by rash and unwarrantable taking up of Arms most unseasonably in the Year 1679; when the dissenting Party, met to worship GOD, being assaulted by armed Men, and defending themselves, did kill about Thirty Men of their Enemies: With this Success both being heartened, great Numbers gathered together, but not in the LORD's Strength; and, by their unseasonable Divisions, and Folly of some, were made a Prey to their Enemies. The Persecution became so hot in the latter End of the Year 1674, and Beginning of 1675, and always after that, that sometimes I was in Hazard to be taken preaching. It was then I was excommunicated, with some other Ministers, Gentlemen and Women, yea, some Persons of Quality; but the LORD suffered not this Ball, tho' it hit me, to do me Harm: The Gospel still spread, and the People of all Sorts ventured on Converse with us. O let my Soul bless the LORD, and not be forgetful of his Benefits; let me not conceal his Loving-kindnesses, but shew them to the Sons of Men. Altho' the LORD afflicted me, and kept the Cross still upon my Back; yet did He likewise remember Mercy, his Mercies were renewed every Morning to me. And, 1. The LORD shewed his Mercy to me, in giving me a comfortable and suitable Yoke fellow, who did me Good and not Evil all the Days of her Life: in her did I behold as in a Glass the LORD's Love to me, by her were the Sorrows of my Pilgrimage many Times sweetened, and she made me frequently forget my Sorrows and Griefs, and was the greatest Temptation to me of saying, *It is good for me to be here*; so that I can seal to the Truth of that, *An Inheritance is from the Fathers, but a prudent Wife is from the LORD, who so findeth her ob-*

taineth Favour of the LORD. I had not in herself alone a comfortable Relation, but I had very much Love and Respect from all her Relations, which were many, and in whose Sight I found Favour, that they considered me no longer as a Stranger, but as their Brother, and there was nothing but in what I could command them; and many of them being Lawyers, Advocates, Clerks and Judges, I had their Service for nought, and glad were they to do me any Good; by them I obtained several Things, and warded off several Blows: Nor did their Love die with her, but continued constant to this Day, as ready to pleasure and do for me now as ever; nor know I so much as of any one Breach that ever was betwixt us. She was kind: *The Law of Kindness was in her Mouth*: She was prudent and well-bred, ordered her Affairs with great Discretion, and by her Wisdom and Activity did many Things that were fair and lovely to look on; was truly Religious, and not only would comply with me in any good Work and spiritual Duty, but many Times would assist, stir up, and encourage and remember me of my Duty. 2. I found much preserving Mercy from the LORD. I was in great Debts when I married; some considerable Sums of Money was I bound in, others I was not bound in, but yet they were truly owing, and I was not able to pay them, being my Father's Debts: Had those Creditors fallen upon me while I was yet tender, they might have undone me, made my Life and my Wife's very uncomfortable; but such as I was owing to, the LORD was pleased to restrain, that they did not sue for their Money until I was able to pay them; nor did others stir at all of my Creditors, tho' I had Fears they might seize Money belonging to my Wife; yet none ever moved. Some tried to do something by Law, but I prevailed against them; and my Cause seemed so
just

just to the Judges, that they could not harm me ; so that they agreed with me on what Terms I pleased, which was, to pay them what and when I was able, and how I was able. 3. The LORD was so gracious to us, as, altho' I had no gainful Employment, nor ever receiv'd Sixpence for Preaching whilst in *Scotland*, nor a Gift from any Relation or Friend, yet, by the Blessing of the LORD on our Management, I discharged a great Burden of Debt without wronging my Estate. In that four Years and Half's Time, I cleared seven or eight hundred Pounds *Sterling* which was owing to several Persons, and did settle a Debt, which betwixt Principal and Annual Rent amounted to eight hundred Pounds, for two hundred. My own Estate was not above one hundred, my Mother and publick Duties had thirty-five or forty Pounds of it, it was not all well paid ; I had with my Wife sixty-five Pounds Annuity, besides one hundred Pounds of Stock ; but it is true we got in above five hundred Pounds of a desperate Debt we look'd not for. 4. I looked on it as a Piece of great Mercy, that I had by my Marriage better and greater Occasions of serving the LORD and his People in the Gospel ; for, living in the most Part in the South with my Wife, I had frequent Calls to preach both in the Cities and Country, so that few Weeks passed that I did not preach twice on the LORD's Day, and once every Week besides, and sometimes much oftener, and always to great Multitudes, to several hundreds in the Cities, and thousands in the Country, being much followed where they knew me : There was not such a Door opened in the North. 5. I increased in Grace, Knowledge and Gifts while married, both by exercising my Talents faithfully, and having the Opportunity of hearing the best-gifted Men in *Scotland*, by whom I profited both as a Christian and

as a Minister ; and likewise by Providences of Mercy and Judgment shewn me. 6. Many Experiences had I of the LORD's Goodness in delivering me out of great Straits ; as in sparing my Wife to me when at the Gates of Death ; twice in delivering me from the Hands of the Enemies ; tho' excommunicated, yet thereby I received no Damage ; tho' fought out to be imprisoned, yet I was hid ; and when such as intended to apprehend me were come in where I was preaching, three several Times was I preserved from them wonderfully. Money likewise to supply Wants, and Credit was cast in to me wonderfully : Especially at two several Times, when, if a great Sum had not been got, I might have been broken, and my Friends with me. But the LORD lent it me, in stirring up some of whom I did not expect it at all, without any Motion of mine, to offer freely to me, more than would serve my Turn. I had likewise Experiences of the LORD's hearing my Prayer very remarkably. And, finally, the LORD was pleased to bless me with Children ; and, I bless the LORD, He helped me in some Measure, to carry christianly in a married Relation, making Conscience of private Duties, having sometimes very sweet and Heart-refreshing Fellowship betwixt me and my Wife alone, seeing and feeling much of the LORD's Goodness shewn to me while in that Relation, doing Nothing, and watching against what might stain my Credit or Authority either as a Minister or a Christian. And yet I desire to be humbled, to the justifying of GOD, and abasing of myself, for great Short-comings and Failings, of which I was both in the Time and since convinced ; as, 1. I was not so useful and profitable to my Wife, Family and Relations as I might have been ; many an Opportunity had I, which I no wise improved ; I cannot tell if any of them hath got Good by me ; I was not

as the Dew to them. 2. I was not spiritual, but very carnal, in the Use and Enjoyment of lawful Comforts; had many Times a sensual carnal Frame, and designed no spiritual End therein: I did not, wherein I was called, walk so closely with the LORD as I should and might. 3. I was by the Pleasures and Satisfaction I found in a married Condition turned off in my Longings after Heaven, and now began to see a greater Good on Earth than before, and was in my Heart saying, *It is good to be here*; my Heart was glewed to sublunary Enjoyments, and much taken off *Christ*. 4. I did sometimes perform Family-Duty but slightly, and when in Haste omit the same sometimes, and omitted Reading, and Speaking from the Word, and Catechising; yea, and omitted many Occasions of spiritual Fellowship with my Wife, although the Time spent therein, and our Fellowship that Way, was the sweetest Part of our married Life.

AND now there was an End put to my earthly Joys, my Sun of earthly Prosperity was set, and my Nights and *Days of Darknes*, and the *Years where-in I have had no Pleasure in them*, were come. Four Years and a Quarter did I live in a married Condition, *rejoicing in the Wife of my Youth* in the Days of my Vanity, that is, from the latter End of *July 1672*, to the latter End of *October 1676*, then did the LORD who gave, take away from me the Delight of mine Eyes, and with her all earthly Joys.

I CANNOT say but the LORD gave me some Warning of this before it came to pass. I was threatned in the Year 1673 with this, but the LORD spared her for that Time: Likewise, that Summer before she died, I was then in the North to settle some Affairs; but a sudden Damp was upon my Spirit,

Spirit, by which I was overwhelmed with an unknown Load of Sorrow, and continued for the Space of two whole Days: I hardly during that Time could speak, eat or drink, nor knew I any Cause for it; as it came without any Cause, so within two Days it wore off my Spirit again. Now, these Clouds upon my Spirit are always Forerunners of a sharp and bitter Storm. Again, the Sense I many Times had of my sinful Course of Life, my Short-coming, my Distance with GOD, my not improving the Mercies that GOD gave me, did many Times, with some Impression upon my Spirit, preface the evil Day coming; yea, the extraordinary Light and Warmth of my Sun did tell me always before a Shower; for truly the Goodness of the LORD to me, was my Temptation to fear. How frequently I said to myself, O how do I fear the *Prosperity of Fools* may *destroy me*! I perceive all the People of GOD that I know visited with Sorrow upon Sorrow, I see Lamentation in the *Tabernacles of Jacob*; only I have Peace, Increase in Riches and Children; have therewith Peace and Quietness, Respect from others, and what not? Oh, surely, if the LORD loves me, if I be not a Bastard, a Stranger that hath no Lot or Part with the People of GOD, I shall not be suffered to walk in a World unknown, but shall mourn with *Zion*. Thus did I many Times commune with mine own Soul, and as *Job* said, *I was not at Peace nor Quietness, yet Trouble came*; and, *The Evil I greatly feared, was come upon me*. Either, if the LORD loves me (said I) GOD will send some painful Sickness or Blast upon my Estate, or I shall fall into the Hands of the Ungodly, or my Wife shall be taken from me; some Awakening or other I shall have, that I know: And accordingly, in the Beginning of *October 1676*, having a Call to *Northumberland* in order to do Something (which, after I enquir'd of the LORD, I was free

free to do) my Wife sickned of a Fever, and some eight or nine Days after died, in vain calling for me during a great Part of her Sicknefs, who was then fifty or fixty Miles from her, and knew Nothing. Letters were sent to me, but came too late, only a Day before she died; and, having made what Haste I could after I once understood she was sick, I came and found her dead four Hours before. I indeed remember I was, when absent at that Time, stirred up extraordinarily to mind her in Prayer; and, about the very Time she was dying, an extraordinary Cloud of Horror seized upon me, being then within twelve Miles of my Journey to our own House.

It is good for either Man or Woman to be first married and engaged with *Christ* before they be engaged with any other, otherwise we shall never carry well in a Marriage-State: When once the Heart hath made its Choice, it is hardly brought to chuse *Christ*; and therefore our Days of Youth are Days of Choice, in which we are to remember our Creator, Eccl. xii. 1. The LORD was merciful to me, in engaging me with *Christ* before I settled any other Way. 2. It is not convenient, I think, that People not come to the Years of Discretion should marry; I was thirty-two Years of Age when I married, and needed all the Wisdom and Experience that by Age I acquired to manage a married Lot. 3. As in all our Ways we should acknowledge the LORD, so especially in going about Marriage, that we may marry in the LORD. For many Years before I had Thoughts of Marriage, I earnestly besought the LORD, that if ever I should change my Relation, He would give me a comfortable Yoke-Fellow: And, when the LORD opened a Door, I durst not so much as make a Visit without Prayer; and I set a whole Day apart before

before I did propose Marriage to my Wife, to know the LORD's Mind whether I should go on or not, and to seek his Blessing in Case I should see it of the LORD to go on. 4. The great End of Marriage is to get a *meet Help* for furthering the Soul's spiritual Concerns: We are not therefore to match ourselves any Way but such as may be conducive to that End; other Ends and Advantages are to be subordinate to this. 5. Therefore doth it much concern us, that the Person we marry be a prudent, pious and virtuous Person: Fools, or graceless Persons, we can never expect to be helpful to us this Way; it is dreadful to take a Lump of Wrath in our Bosom. He that marieth a prudent, godly Woman, is sure to have the LORD Himself to his Father-in-Law. The Seed of the Woman and of the Serpent can never agree, dwell, and walk together; nor can an Ox and an Ass, yoked together, draw equally. 6. It is absolutely necessary that those we marry, be not of a cross but good Humour naturally, and that they have some good Measure of Prudence; without these two you cannot live comfortably: Yea, Grace, though I confess it makes Fools wiser, and makes the rugged Lions eat Grass like Oxen, yet it doth not destroy Nature; and, if there be not the stricter Watch, it will vent and cause Disorders in the Family. That we live religiously, and to God, we owe it to Grace; but that, as Men and Women, we live comfortably, is much from Prudence and good natural Humour. 7. It is a marvelous and a blessed Thing, where God is pleased to unite in the Bonds of Love first these He in his Providence is pleased to join in Marriage: This is the Blessing of the LORD upon a Marriage-condition; this is it which makes the Married walk faithfully, in sweet spiritual Communion with God, in joint spiritual Duties and Exercises, and which makes it

it so comfortable; and this I found by Experience. I found much Sweetness in spiritual Fellowship with my Wife; the pleasantest Time we ever had was those few Hours we spent together in Prayer, in reading the Word, in spiritual Conference, and joint binding of ourselves to the LORD, in all which I found her very cordial; nor can I say I found Fellowship with any other so sweet as with her. What a great Advantage is it, and how necessary, to be united by Love with these with whom we join in Fellowship! 8. Grace makes Persons not only good Christians, but good in all Relations. To say, a good Woman, but a bad Wife; a gracious Man but a cross, peevish, sullen Husband; a holy Man, but a bad Master, or undutiful Servant, is that which cannot be. 9. Marriage is one of the most important Steps of a Man's Life: O then, with what Fear and Trembling and godly Dependence should we go about such a Matter! I shall never forget what a Minister said when marrying two certain Persons, viz. "That Repentance mends all Things but an ill made Marriage." 10. I have observed, that several gracious Persons have been very unequally yoked with graceless Persons, and that to be the sad Lot rather of poor Women than of Men; and yet this hath been blessed of God to them, and they helped to carry well under it. 11. A Marriage-Condition or State is both a blessed and comfortable State, and also a State liable to many Inconveniencies; I found this Fountain to *send forth Bitter and Sweet*. As it was a Life of much Contentment, and as I saw much of the Love and Goodness of God, so did I see the same seasoned with many Ingredients, Cares and vexing Fears, that I never found in a single State; so that, if I were absent for four or five Days, it was a Terror to me to enter into the Family, lest I should hear or know that either
Wife

Wife or Children were unwell. 12. Although Marriage be ordained for preventing of Fornication and burning Lust, 1 Cor. vii. 4. and for begetting of Children to furnish the Church with an holy Seed, yet are they not the only great Ends of Marriage; for aged Persons that cannot get Children, and such as never found these violent Desires, may lawfully marry, and that to have a suitable Help, a suitable Companion, who may help us in our Way to Heaven. 13. It is a very hard Thing to guide a Marriage-Lot, and to walk prudently and in Knowledge, to keep such a spiritual Frame as to possess our Vessels in Holiness, and, like *Enoch*, to beget Sons and Daughters, and walk with God. Alas! I know not how to walk perfectly in a perfect Way, nor how to behave wisely in my House: I many Times omitted Opportunities of doing Good, slighted others; many Times slightly and perfunctorily went about Family Duties, was carnal and excessive, was foolish in many Things; yea, the Comforts of a present Life, Wife, Children and Relations, did blunt my Desire after Heaven, and I began to say in my Heart, *It is good to be here*. 14. Loss of Comforts is as bitter, yea, much more than ever they were comfortable when enjoyed. As I much comforted myself in such a comfortable Yoke-Fellow, so it was exceeding bitter when the LORD wither'd such a Gourd.— 15. Mercies obtained by, and received as the Fruit of Prayer, are double Mercies. What was comfortable and useful to me in a Yoke-Fellow I obtained by Prayer.





C H A P. VIII.

Of my Sufferings.

IT pleased the LORD, not only to exercise me with personal Afflictions; but likewise, for purging away and healing of my Corruptions, for Trial and Exercise of my Faith, Patience and Sincerity, for humbling of me, for manifesting his Purity and Holiness, and for Confirmation and Sealing of GOD's Truth and Ways, to honour me with publick Sufferings for his Name; by being reproached, oppressed and wronged, excommunicated, troubled with Citations before Courts on that Account, wandering from Place to Place many Times for Fear of my Life, imprisoned, fined and banished, and threatned with Death itself.

THE Occasion of my Sufferings was, Dissenting from, and Nonconformity to, the Government of Prelacy; for adhering to the persecuted, deserted Party, who stood upon their former Ground, cleaving to their former Principles; and for taking upon me to preach without the Bishop's Authority. This in a short Time exposed me to the Lash of the Laws against Dissenters, and Malice of the Bishops, whose Principles, Ways and Courses, I was convinced were not of GOD: For as to any other Thing, whether Immorality or Sedition, I could not be charged therewith, being as to Man unblamable, of sufficiently loyal Principles, and kept from having any Concurrence with any publick Insurrection; so that there was nothing that

could be laid to my Charge, but as concerning my GOD and my Conscience.

IT is true, the very Profession of Religion exposed me to Persecution, viz. to Reproach and Contempt and made me not willing to bring my Cause to their corrupt Judicatories, chusing rather to suffer by unprofitable Terms of Peace, than to bring my Cause before them to be heard publickly; for I knew both my Person and Principles were unfavourable, and therefore doubted much of the Issue of my Cause.

HITHERTO my Troubles reached none but myself; but now, being married, they reached others: For within a very few Days after we were married, and were preparing to go to the North, a Messenger came with a Summons to me to appear before the Council for keeping Conventicles. The Bishop of *Murray*, in whose Diocese I had preached, and a Privy Counsellor, for some Pique he had at my Wife, caused me this Trouble. I was herewith troubled; but my Wife's Friends, to whom I communicated the Matter, dealt with the Messenger to lay on a Summons when we were to the North, where we were to be in a Day or two, and then indorse on the Back of his Execution, that he found us not, which would make a new Summons necessary; and he did so. My Adversaries were enraged at this, and, disdaining to be thus outwitted, sent one hundred and sixty Miles a new Summons, which, within two Months after we were come North, came to our Hand: I was therewith much troubled on my Wife's Account, fearing that the Publick would seize upon any Thing belonging to her; however, I prayed to the LORD, and sought Advice what to do, whether I should answer the Council's Citation (as my Friends advised me)

me) or not, and take my Hazard. The LORD was pleased to clear it to me, that I was not to answer the Citation, which Light I followed; upon which I was denounced and outlawed. My Wife was very chearful under this. Within a short Time after we came South; and then, understanding who were the Authors of my Troubles, I thought it Wisdom to take them off; and, for this Effect, employed such as had the greatest Influence with the Privy Counsellor to deal with him to abstain from such an Action so far below him. I likewise came myself and spoke to him; and the LORD blessed the Means used so effectually, that he fell off, and was ever after a good Friend to me; and, having the Executions delivered him, he would never give them up, by which Means they came to Nothing, and finally were altogether forgotten.

AFTER this there were *Silence in Heaven for half an Hour*, but then the Angels of War did sound their Trumpets; and amongst other Ministers I was sought for, and of new denounced. I was many Times, while in the South, made to shift my Lodging; was frequently in Fears and Alarms, and preached in great Temptations through the lying in Wait of Enemies; I was several Times interrupted in the Act of Preaching, by Soldiers that by Orders came to apprehend me; I could get no Business done. The LORD by this did only manifest his Goodness in preserving and delivering me.

THE Bishops and other wicked Men perceiving all this Time that they laboured in the Fire, for the Number of Dissenters increased, and the Gospel spread further and further notwithstanding all the violent Means that were used for suppressing

it and the Professors thereof, they bethink themselves of excommunicating the chief Ministers that were most active in Preaching, and the chief Professors both Gentlemen and others, to the Number of between three or four hundred in the first or second Excommunication. It was a publick Writ, served by King and Council's Authority, straitly discharging, under highest Pains, all his Majesty's Subjects to converse or speak with, harbour or receive into their Houses, or administer any Comfort to, the Persons in the Writ particularly expressed; this was proclaimed and printed: And thus for naked Preaching were we proces'd as Murderers and Traitors, for such only used to be excommunicated. They thought this would keep the People from us, or force us (finding no Shelter) to remove out of the Land; and make us as Ducks to decoy others, who, could they be proved to have received or harboured us, were fineable at the Council's Pleasure, and to be in the same Circumstances which we were in ourselves. I was put in with others; for they knew that I had several Times preached in the Fields; they imagined also my Parts were greater than they were: And therefore, though some Friends strove that I might not be excommunicated, yet they could not prevail.

ALTHO' the Adversaries had boasted of this as an effectual Mean for suppressing Conventicles; yet the LORD did wonderfully disappoint them, and turned their witty Counsels into Folly; for this great Noise harmed not at all, it was Powder without Ball: As for myself, never one that cared for me shunned my Company; nay, a great many mere carnal Relations and Acquaintances did entertain me as freely as ever they did; yea, so far did the Goodness of the LORD turn this to my Good, that I observed it was at that Time I got
most

most of my civil Business done: And as the LORD preserved myself in this Storm, so I did not hear of any excommunicated, or Conversers with excommunicated Persons, that were in the least prejudiced thereby; nay, this Matter of the excommunicating of so many good and peaceable Men did but exasperate the People the more, and procured to the Authors of such rigid Courses, a greater and more universal Hatred.

SOME two Years and a Half did I continue excommunicated, discharging the Commission I had received from the LORD JESUS in great Weakness, I confess, (yet desiring to serve the LORD better, and humbled and grieved upon the Account of my great Failing) and in manifold Temptations, thro' the lying in Wait of those who hunted after me: For the Bishops knowing that I was a Nonconformist, and very active in preaching in the Fields, they therefore did stir up the King's Council against me, representing me as a Person of very disloyal Principles and Practices; so that there was a particular Eye upon me, and I was one of the Three that a considerable Sum of Money was proffered for apprehending of, to any Person, although Nothing could be laid to my Charge of Sedition or Insurrection, but only that I preached without the Bishops Authority. Many Attempts were made against me, which for some Years I escaped: At last the Major of *Edinburgh*, being solicited by the Archbishop, and encouraged thereto by the Promises of great Rewards, did on the LORD's Day's Night, being the 28th of *January*, 1677, by the Treachery of a Servant-maid whom for Money he had corrupted, (who, being Servant to a Relation in whose House I ordinarily preached, had Knowledge of my coming and going) apprehended me about Ten o'Clock at Night, which was the Time

the Maid had appointed him to come to her Master's House, as I was, after Supper, recommending the Family to GOD by Prayer; I was then interrupted and carried to Prison.

HE who apprehended me went immediately to the Archbishop, and told him the News of my Apprehension, with which the Archbishop was greatly rejoiced, and, by giving some small Token at present, and Promises of greater Reward, dismissed the Major. The Archbishop, overjoyed with his Success, longed for the next Day impatiently, on which, so soon as it dawned, he (being a Counsellor) sent Order to the Goaler that I should be kept close, and none suffered to have Access to me, which was done, until some of the Counsellors in a Committee met the same Evening, before whom at Five o'Clock I appeared, where I was examined, and verbally charged as a seditious Person, who did rent the Church of *Christ*, and was very active to make a Schism; as a Preacher in Field-conventicles, which was Death by the Law; which they gladly would have me acknowledge, as likewise who they were that empowered me to preach: That I was excommunicated, and despised the Law so far that I never made any Application to be freed from that Sentence: And that I was a Person of very bad Principles, destructive to all Government. And thereupon the Archbishop, who thereby thought to ensnare me by my own Words, enquired, Whether I judged it lawful upon Pretence of Religion to take up Arms against the King's Majesty? This was the Sum: And that I kept Correspondence with some Prisoners in the *Bast*, which the Archbishop confidently averred he knew. These Things were not charged upon me all at once, but in a confused Way; and many Things by Way of Question. I cannot say of any of the
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Committee of the Council, but they were all civil and sober Persons, of whom, if the Instigation and Fear of the Archbishop had not prevailed with them, I might have been moderately dealt with: But he did, in a bitter invective Oration, represent me as a very odious and criminal Person. To all which I replied, That I did acknowledge I was (though most unworthy) a Minister of the Gospel; and that I indeed preached frequently, as the LORD called me, and independently on the Bishop: That the Subjects of my Discourses and Sermons were not disloyal and traitorous, as the Archbishop did alledge, but, according as I was helped, I preached *Repentance towards God, and Faith towards Jesus Christ*, and no other Thing than what was contained in the Prophets and the New Testament: That I was so far from being terrified or ashamed to own that I was a Minister of *Christ*, that altho' I was of no despicable Extraction, yet that I gloried most in, and counted it the greatest Honour I ever attained, to *serve GOD in the Gospel of his Son*: That I never preached nor stirred up the People to Sedition, and was indifferent though the Principles of my Heart were as visible to their Lordships as the external Lineaments of my Face, so that they might read what was engraven upon my Heart: That for rising up in Arms against the King upon Pretence of Religion, which the Archbishop alledged I maintained, he was therein abused; for I never knew of any, even the most zealous Asserters of the Liberties of the People, that did maintain rising in Arms upon Pretence of Religion, Pretences giving no Ground or Warrant for any Man's Action: That Matters of Prerogative and Privileges were Things of a ticklish Nature, and of which for the present I desired not to give my Thoughts, not judging the same within my Sphere: That

That for such as did ordain me, I was not free to tell them, lest thereby I should bring others to Trouble, although I should be most free as to Matters concerning myself: That as I judged it not unlawful to preach the Gospel either in Houses or Fields as Conveniency did offer, but Duty, and an Ordinance of *Christ's*, (so far was I from judging those Meetings *Rendezvouses of Rebellion*) so did I not acknowledge I at any Time did preach in the Fields; and if they thirsted after my Life, to take it away upon that Account, they could not expect I should reach the Weapon wherewith to destroy myself, or that I should be either Witness or Accuser against myself, in a Matter the Law had made so criminal; and therefore for them to seek their Proof and Evidence elsewhere than from myself, for I was resolved none living should be able to make me guilty of such a Weakness: That as for Correspondence with any in the *Bass*, there was no such Thing; and, if there were, I should be content to suffer the severest Punishments: I denied the Charge of Schism, and left it to be proved: That, for my Excommunication, I was then Seven-score Miles off when it was passed, and knew not of it 'till I saw my Name in the printed Papers, and so could not prevent it; and after I was excommunicated, I could not get any Person that would so much as draw up a Petition for me, being strictly charged to the contrary; and that from this, and Fear of further Prejudice, and not from the Contempt of the Law, it was that I did not move to have myself taken out of the Letters of Excommunication. In this and all the Premisses I was free and ingenuous with them: That I came not to justify my Breeding before their Lordships, for I acknowledged I was a rude Man (for one of the Lords challenged me of Un-

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mannerliness, that gave not the Archbishop his Titles). And finally, That I was now in their Lordships Power, and ready to submit to whatsoever their Lordships should determine concerning me.

AFTER this I was remanded to Prison again, but ordered to be kept more straitly than formerly: For my Pockets were searched for Letters, Knives; Ink, Paper and Pen were taken and kept from me; all Company discharged: Which filled me with some melancholy Apprehensions. But in my Darkness was the LORD a Light round about me; Him they could not shut out from me: For that Night did I get a most kind and comfortable Visit from the LORD JESUS, and I had one of the most sweet Nights I had for ten Years before that; lifted up, by the Sense of the LORD's Love and Favour, above Death, Sin, Hell, Wrath, Prelates and Papists, about One or Two o'Clock in the Morning I fell into a sound Sleep, until, a little before Six o'Clock, I was awakened by one of the Goalers, who cried to me to make myself ready against Six o'Clock to go to the *Bass*, for so the Counsel had determined: Which I very chearfully obeyed; and so, with another Person that was Prisoner with me, was I by a Guard of twelve Horse and thirty Foot convoyed to the *Bass*, where we safely landed on *Wednesday* Morning (being one Night by the Way) and were delivered to the Custody of the Officer of that Place, who commanded, as Governor therein, a Garrison of 18 or 20 Soldiers.

THE *Bass* is a very high Rock in the Sea, two Miles distant from the nearest Point of the Land which is South of it; it is covered with Grass on the uppermost Parts thereof, where is a Garden
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where Herbs grow, with some Cherry-trees, of the Fruit of which I several Times tasted. Below which Garden there is a Chapel for Divine Service; but, as no Minister was allowed for it, the Ammunition of the Garrison was kept therein. Landing here is very difficult and dangerous; for, if any Storm blow, you cannot enter because of the Violence of the Waves, which beat with a wonderful Noise upon the Rock, and sometimes in such a violent Manner, that the broken Waves, reverberating on the Rock with a mighty Force, have come up over the Walls of the Garrison on the Court before the Prisoners Chambers, which is above twenty Cubits Height: And with a full Sea you must land; or, if it be ebb, you must be either craned up, or climb with Hands and Feet up some Steps artificially made on the Rock, and must have Help besides of these who are on the Top of the Rock, who pull you up by the Hand: Nor is there any Place of Landing but one about the whole Rock, which is of Circumference about three Quarters of a Mile; here you may land in a fair Day and full Sea without great Hazard, the rest of it on every Side being so high and steep: Only, on the South Side thereof, the Rock falls a little level, where you ascend several Steps 'till you come to the Governor's House, and from that some Steps higher you ascend to a level Court, where a House for Prisoners and Soldiers is; whence likewise, by Windings cut out of the Rock, there is a Path leading you to the Top of the Rock, whose Height doth bear off all North, East and West Storms, lying open only to the South; and on the uppermost Parts of the Rock there is Grass sufficient to feed twenty or twenty-four Sheep, who are there very fat and good. In these upper Parts of the Rock were sundry Walks, of about Three-score Feet in Length, and some very solitary, where we
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sometimes entertained ourselves. The accessible Places were defended with several Walls, and Cannon placed on them, which encompassed only the South Parts. The rest of the Rock is defended by Nature, by the huge Height and Steepness of the Rock, being near forty Cubits high in the lowest Place. It was Part of a Country Gentleman's Inheritance, which falling from Hand to Hand, and changing many Masters, it was at last bought by the King, who repaired the old Houses and Walls, and built some new Houses for Prisoners; and a Garrison of twenty or twenty four Soldiers therein are sufficient, if courageous, to defend it from Millions of Men. It is commanded by a Lieutenant, who reaps thereby some considerable Profit, which, besides his Pay, may be one hundred Pounds a Year and better. There is no Fountain-water therein, and they are only served with Rain that falls out of the Clouds, and is preserved in some Caverns digged out of the Rock. Their Drink and Provisions are carried from the other Side by a Boat, which only waits on the Garrison, and hath a Salary of six Pounds yearly for keeping up the same, besides what they get of those Persons that come either to see the Prisoners, or are curious to see the Garrison. Here Fowls of several Sorts are to be found, who build in the Clifts of the Rock; the most considerable of which is the *Solan-goose*, whose Young well fledged, ready to fly, are taken, and so yield near one hundred Pounds yearly, and might be much more, were they carefully improved.

To this melancholy Place I came, and continued there in Prison for two Years and a Half; for I came in *January 1677*, and came out in *July 1679*. And here I had likewise Experience of the Goodness of GOD towards me; 1. In providing
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for me, without being chargeable to any for such Things as I stood in Need of. 2. In preserving and supporting me under great Pressures of Spirit from Sin, Sufferings, Grievs, Sorrows, and Untenderness of Brethren. 3. In preserving me in Health all that Time. 4. That in this Time by improving my Estate, I paid and cleared one hundred Pounds of Debt. 5. I had the Comfort and Edification of Fellow-prisoners, both Ministers and others, some there before me, and others brought in since my coming, whose Company was sweet and edifying to me. 6. We had Liberty, for the most Part, of taking the Air up the Hill; my solitary Walks were sometimes very pleasant to me. 7. I had the Comfort of Friends, that came in Kindness to see us from the City and Country. 8. I had some special Visits from God, ordinarily in private Duties, and sometimes in Worshipping and Conference with others.— 9. Some Increase (I think) I found in Gifts, Knowledge and Grace; some further Discoveries of the Knowledge of *Christ* and the Gospel I never had before.

As for my Exercises here, and Improvement of my Time; I judged, when I first came here, that I was called to some Work: And therefore did I, 1. Exercise myself in lamenting my Sins, and mispent Life, and great Short-coming. 2. I laboured after, and desired, some further Knowledge of God and *Christ*, and to glorify God in my Sufferings. 3. Some Hours, Morning, and Evening, and Mid-day, I spent in Meditation, in Praising, and reading the Scripture, for keeping up and increasing Communion with God, and Increase of Grace, and this constantly; besides several Fast-days, which were my sweetest Seasons and best Times. 4. Every Day I read the
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Scriptures, exhorted and taught therefrom, sung Psalms, and prayed with such of our Society as our Masters did permit to worship GOD together; and this twice a Day. 5. I studied *Hebrew* and *Greek*, and gained some Knowledge in these Languages. 6. I likewise read some Divinity, and wrote a Treatise of *Faith*, with some other Miscellanies, and several Letters to Christian Friends and Relations.

BUT Prisons must be Prisons, and all Afflictions, tho' never so well sweetned, will be in some Measure grievous. Tho' the LORD was pleased to put a very light Yoke upon our Necks; yet was it still a Yoke, and some bitter Ingredients were mixed in this Cup, Something of the Gall and Vinegar, that our Patience and Faith might be the better exercised, and to wean us from the World, and sweeten to us the Love of GOD in supporting under such Troubles, and delivering us out of them: For, 1. It could not but be sad to me and my Brethren, to think that we were cast out of the Vineyard, and could not glorify GOD as we had done. 2. Absence from natural and civil Relations and Friends was bitter, whose Company was sweet, and which now we could not enjoy. 3. The Company of the Ungodly, to whose Hands we were delivered, and who ruled over us, was grievous; we lived among Lions, Wolves, and Serpents, and dwelt in the Tents of *Kedar*. 4. Our own Servants were turned out from us, and we made to seek Servants whom we knew not; but this turned to our Advantage. 5. The great Comfort that we had in worshipping of GOD together, and in eating together, was taken away from us by the Folly and Fears of some, and Envy and Malice of others, who grudged us this Comfort, and made us separate in Worship

and Diet, and would not suffer us to come together. 6. Sometimes, when they would take it in their Heads, they would shut us all close up, and not suffer any of us to speak to another; and this not only without, but contrary to, the Council's Order, who committed us free Prisoners, and to have the Liberty of the Rock. 7. They vexed us by mixing in our Company, and there blaspheming sometimes; and other Times seeking to ensnare us by the Words of our Lips. 8. They laboured to debauch our Servant-maids; insomuch that we could hardly get a Maid to wait upon us. 9. They by Force kept the Soldiers from conversing with or hearing us, altho' the poor Creatures would gladly have heard us. 10. At the same Time I was very untenderly handled by some false Brethren engaged in the same publick Cause. 11. We were sometimes hard put to it for Want of Victuals and Drink, insomuch that we had no other than Snow-water, or corrupted Water sprinkled over with a little Oatmeal, to drink, and some dry Fish: These with other Things made our Lives Something, and at some Times, bitter to us.

WHILE the Archbishop lived, no Mediation of Friends could get me out, altho' several Means were tried, which all proved ineffectual; the Council not accepting the Engagements I would give, which were no other than appearing when called; and I refusing their Terms, which were, that I should not preach in the Fields any more: Yet the LORD was pleased to answer my Mind in some Measure that I should come out, and be delivered, and that by giving great Liberty to pray for it, and filling my Soul with the Hopes and Faith of it. At another Time the LORD was pleased to renew my Commission to preach the Gospel, even a Year before I was delivered; which

which made me think, and write to my Friends, that I should be delivered. And, lastly, I was made (from *Jonah* ii. ult. *And God spake to the Fish, and it vomited Jonah on the dry Land*) to believe that the LORD would speak to this Rock to give me with others of my Brethren up; and accordingly, when the Fulness of Time came, I was delivered, even when we all judged it most desperate: For after the rash and unadvised Attempts at *Bothwell*, expecting every Day when we should be brought out to be a Sacrifice to the Fury they were then in; behold, at that Time did the LORD incline the Heart of the King (out of what Design we cannot certainly tell) to grant an Indulgence, and withal, to command and order that such Prisoners as were not in Accession to the late Rebellion should be set at Liberty: Upon which we were taken out of the *Bass*, and carried, to the Number of eight or nine of us, to the Tolbooth of *Edinburgh*; for tho' the King's Orders did require we should be freely set at Liberty, yet would not the Council let us go, until we gave Security to appear when called, under the Penalty of 560 *l.* There were about fourteen of us Prisoners at the Time, and in twenty-four Hours Space we found Security for 800 *l.* for we would not give Security to forbear Field-meetings, because we saw no Law for it, and because it was conceived by us dishonourable, and to reflect upon our Ministry. Forth we came, and were set at Liberty, to the Joy of our Friends; and while at Liberty I preached every LORD's Day, and lived a wandering unsettled Life. Whatever Family I came to, I laboured to be something useful there. I looked to my Affairs, paid two thousand Marks of Debt at that Time, and so continued untill November 1681, that I with my Sureties were cited to appear before the Council for Preaching.

Now begun Persecution to increase and wax hot ; some Ministers were sent to the *Bass* ; the Liberty the King had given for Preaching, partly because it was not universally accepted, and partly by the Prelates Persuasion, was recalled by the King : And when they had gotten us to forbear Meetings in Fields, in Hopes of Liberty to meet in Houses, the King, who gave his Indulgence but during Pleasure, recalled his Grant, and ordained the Execution of the Laws against Dissenters. The Duke of *York* being then in *Scotland*, did much concur with the Prelates against Dissenters, so that never one of us that ever appeared had any Favour shown to us ; and Dissenters were as much put to it as ever.

BEING South, as I returned I preached in a Barn to a good Number of People on a LORD's-Day : The Council got Word of this, and it was informed against me that I preached in the Fields ; so that Orders were given to cite me and my Surety both to appear before the Council ; but being informed better, and perceiving it was only a House-conventicle, their Citation slept, and only spoke to my Cautioner who was there, and who a short While after, coming North, found me lying sick of an Ague, and told me how Matters went, and that he was purposed to write to the Bishop of *Edinburgh* and the Lord Advocate concerning my Case, and that I was very sick : Which I earnestly dissuaded him from ; for I said, If the Prelates hear I am sick, they will certainly cite me, in Hopes that either I cannot appear being sick, and so fall in the Forfeiture of my Bond of 360*l.* which they would gladly have ; or, if I should appear, I might thereby endanger my Life. This indeed I thought : But my Surety would not be counselled by me, but acquainted the Bishop of my

my Sickness, and that I preached not in the Fields. The Bishop no sooner received this Letter, by which he understood of my Sickness, but incontinently he revives the Citation, his Brother being Clerk to the Council. Some Prejudice they had at my Surety, (for he had been engaged in 1700 *l.* Sterling for Nonconformist Ministers): They thought I would not appear being sick, and the Day of my Appearance being in the very dead of Winter, the 22d of *December*, upon which they would cause my Surety to forfeit his Bond. A Citation was directed North, of which we heard Word about the Beginning of *November*, and did think fit to prevent the same. Many of my Friends counselled me rather to forfeit the Money than to go, for both they and myself had some Apprehensions that the Council intended to have my Life; for it was a Time wherein the Council was in a very bad Humour, and at the very same Time had found Lord *Argyll* guilty of Treason for that which truly to us, that knew not the Law, seemed to have no Affinity therewith, and to some of the chief Lawyers of Note likewise. Moreover, I knew that Preaching in the Fields was Death by the Law to the Minister; and that the Law declared, That, if any Person stood without to hear, though the Minister and Body of the People were within Doors, that such a Meeting was a Field-meeting; and it was impossible for me to hinder or know when Persons were without, and I thought it hard to shut the Doors upon them. And besides, I was informed some Notes of my Sermon were in the Council's Hand, and I knew not what they might make of popular Discourses, though never so honestly meant. All these Things made myself and Friends have some Fear of the Danger of my Life; but notwithstanding, getting my Head above the Fear of Death, I resolved upon

all Hazards, to appear. And I was much encouraged in this by my sudden and unexpected Recovery (and that without any Means) of an Ague that I kept but six Weeks in all: I not only recovered, but was so strengthened, that I durst undertake a Journey of such a Length, and so bad a Way, in the Midst of Winter, and truly I found the LORD so gracious, that tho' I had been sick a short while before, and that the Weather was very bad, yet was I kept from any Prejudice, and came the Day before that of my Appearance to *Edinburgh* in good Health, and my Surety with me: And the Day of my Appearance happened to be the next Day or second after the Earl of *Argyll's* Escape, which put them in a bad Humour.

THE Council was surpris'd when I appeared; and, after some Astonishment and Silence, an Indictment was commanded to be read against me, charging me with preaching in the Fields and without Authority, and finally, with venting of Principles that were pernicious, seditious and rebellious, and tending to alienate the Minds of his Majesty's Subjects from his Government. The Advocate for the King did refer all to my Oath: And being commanded by the President to depose, whether I had preached in Houses or in Fields since I came from the *Bass*; and a few Days Respite to answer to the Indictment, being denied, I told them that I was ready to swear that I was innocent of what I was charged with in the Indictment, and therefore desired I might have Liberty to speak for myself; which was granted. Then did I discourse to them a large Half-hour (without being interrupted) in Answer to what I was charged with. My Design in this was to prevent the Torment of their Questions, and likewise to state the true Grounds of our Sufferings, and vindicate myself
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and others of the Imputations laid upon us by our Enemies. The Sum of what I said was; after hearty and humble Thanks returned for the Liberty of speaking for myself, I protested, that I endeavoured to discharge what I conceived my Duty with as little Offence to Authority as I could; and that, were the Things I was called in question about such as I could come and go upon, relating only to my own Person or Interest in the World, I should be loath to be heard with their Lordships, but refer myself and these Things wholly to their Disposal: That I should be short, ingenuous and clear in my Answer for myself: That to the first and second Head of preaching without Authority and in the Fields, that I had acknowledged I had preached, and was neither ashamed or terrified to own this; but that I preached not in the Fields since I came out of the *Bass*, nor yet without Authority, seeing I was called by God and such of his Servants as I verily did believe had Power from *Christ* for that Effect; and therefore was the first Part of my Indictment answered: That, as to my preaching seditious Principles, I might with a good Conscience deny it; and, because that both myself and others were slandered as Persons of disloyal Principles, I should therefore give an Account of what Principles were maintained by myself and them, and what my Practices were: That as to Doctrines and Articles of Religion, my Faith was contained in, and according to, the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; that I was of the reformed Protestant Religion, and did approve, and was ready to subscribe to, that Confession of Faith in King *James's* Time, and ratified (I supposed) by the present Parliament: That as to the King's Majesty's Authority and Power, that I acknowledged Magistracy an Ordinance of God, and the present King's Authority, whose Subject
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and Servant I was, and obliged to submit to, reverence and esteem, whom, for any Thing relating to my Person or Estate, I was resolved never to resist; but how far his Power extended, or in what Subject it was first placed, or how conveyed, I thought not so much my Part as that of Lawyers to determine. For the King's Power in Ecclesiastical Matters, I acknowledged the Persons of Ministers and other Ecclesiastical Persons subject to him; and that he had a Jurisdiction civil, reaching to not only civil, but likewise spiritual Things, which he was to judge, that so he might, as the nursing Father of the Church, either encourage, or punish or restrain in a coercive Way, and that not implicitly, seeing with others Eyes; and that he might call Synods when and where he pleased, and propose his Mind to them, whose Duty it not only was, but Wisdom, to take the Magistrate's Concurrence when it might be had: But that it was undeniable, this Power of the Magistrate's was not privative of any intrinsical Power of the Church, granted to her by *Christ*, for preserving and edifying of herself; which therefore, in Case of the Magistrate's Opposition to the Truth, or Want of Access to him thro' Distance of Place or other casual Emergencies, they might exercise without him, as was clearly seen in the Times of the Heathen, *Arrian* and *Roman* Emperors. As for my Practice, I can say, I have endeavoured to keep a good Conscience both before God and Men, to live unblameable, and peaceably, giving to God what was God's, and to *Cæsar* what was *Cæsar's*; was never in any Insurrection, Rebellion or Conspiracy against his Majesty's Person or Government, nor never stirred up others thereto, but rather to live peaceably, and by Repentance, Reformation, Quietness and Confidence, and other spiritual Means, to expect Deliverance; not by irritating

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of the Rulers, to make their Bonds heavier, by taking the Sword, and resisting by Force; and this both publickly in Sermons, and privately in Discourses. These therefore being our Principles, which we are not ashamed of, but ready to defend; it is a Wonder to me how I or any sober Person of our Way, come to be challenged for seditious Principles and Practices. If these Principles be innocent, then is the second and great Part of my Libel, referred to my Oath, eluded? And finally, I prayed the LORD to bless his Majesty with all his Blessings both Spiritual and Temporal; that he might be a Terror to Evil-doers, an Encouragement to the Good; that the Throne might be established in Righteousness.

AFTER this Discourse, to which they hearkened very patiently, I was asked, Whether I preached since I came out of the *Bass*? To which I replied, I would answer to what I was charged with in my Libel or Indictment, which was not that I preached, but that I preached without Authority, and seditiously; which I did deny. They enquired very earnestly and pressingly, who ordained me? I told them, I could not tell them, seeing it concerned others whom I was not to accuse; but that I had lawful and good Authority, and that their Lordships could not compel me to answer to that Matter: Nor judged I myself bound to answer thereto, because it was that, for which I was formerly questioned, and satisfied the Law for; and therefore could not now again be called in question for the same Fault. And, seeing that my Commission to preach was before the Act of Grace, any Crime therein (if any was) was by the Act of Grace, purged: And besides, the same not being in any Indictment, I was not bound to answer thereto. I was removed; and after some Debate among them.

themselves (for many of the Counsellors were much taken with my Discourse, and voted that I might be let go) the Matter being left to the Bishops, I was called in, and received the following Sentence: To be sent to Prison to *Blackness*, and to continue there until I paid the Fine of five thousand Marks, and gave Security not to preach any more, or go off the Kingdom. And my Guard was ready to convey me to the common Goal of *Edinburgh*, there to remain.

MANY of the By-standers (for there were Multitudes there) were surpris'd at the Severity of the Sentence; yea, some of the Privy Council talked publickly, that I had met with hard Measure. Well, I came to the Goal, and had a Chamber the best in the Prison; the Keeper and Under-keepers of the Prison of *Edinburgh* were very discreet and civil; I had Abundance of Visits every Day from some good People and Persons of Quality. When I first came, I examined my Ways and Carriage, and found Matter both of Humiliation and Thanksgiving unto the LORD: I saw Ground to bless God, that I vindicated the LORD's People from the Aspersions cast upon them; I boldly and freely, to the Conviction of all, owned our Principles; and I likewise desired not only to speak for myself, but to honour God: I saw Ground of Humiliation for many Failings in me; yet was glad if the Gospel did not receive Prejudice by me. I got little Good done; for I ordinarily slept 'till Seven in the Morning; and after Supper, which was at Eight o' Clock, I was drowsy; and all Day over I was diverted with Visits: Yet I got my Speech written, and some Letters, and preached twice every LORD's Day to the Prisoners, and some few who were suffered to come in. Twice did I supplicate; for my Liberty while I was in *Edinburgh*,
but

but could not obtain it, because of the Bishops and the Clerk of the Council the Bishop's Brother, who was my great Enemy, though I never disoblighd him in my Life.

AFTER I had continued six Weeks in *Edinburgh*, I was sent to *Blackness*, convoyed by four or five Gentlemen of the Guard, where I continued seven Weeks. Ignorance, Youth, and Fear of Man, made the Governor of this Place not so discreet as otherwise he would be to me: For, first, he kept me in a Manner a close Prisoner; (another had still the Key of my Chamber, though I could command him to come and open it when I pleased) which was not according to the Council's Order. Next, he would be frequently drunk, and then was guilty of some Extravagancies; he likewise kept back many of my Friends from coming to see me: And the first Night he was so indiscreet, as to put me into a cold, wide, dark, filthy, smoaky Room, where I could not have lived six Days, if I had continued therein, for Smoak, Darkness, Melancholly and Cold, although at the same Time he had better Rooms; but his Lady, though a Child not above fourteen Years old, and another Gentleman that came along with me, prevailed so far with him as to change my Room, and then I was very well. Here I continued seven Weeks, doing little Good, but longing and praying for Deliverance out of that sad Place; which the LORD thus brought to pass: My Brother-in-Law, unknown to me, presented a Supplication to the Council in my Behalf, desiring my Fine might be remitted, myself ordered to be set at Liberty, some competent Time allow'd me to settle my Affairs in *Scotland*, seeing I was content to submit to their Lordships Sentence of Banishment. Which Supplication (the Duke of *York* and the Bishop with his Brother-being away) was

was easily granted by the Council: An Order was sent to the Governor of *Blackness* immediately to set me at Liberty, a Month was given me to settle my Affairs; whereupon I was much sooner than I thought set at Liberty, and at a Time when I little thought of it, and my Liberty burdened with no Clog or sinful Engagement; being only bound that I should remove out of the Kingdom, and not return (without King or Council's Leave) within such a Day.

I DID not know any Thing of what my Friends had done for me, nor could blame them for what they had done: The Terms were honest upon which I was to come out; Liberty was desirable, though in a strange Country, and preferable to Imprisonment at Home. I looked upon wicked Folk, though *Scotsmen*, as the greatest Foreigners and Strangers to me; a godly Man in *England* or *Ireland* is more my Countryman than a wicked *Scotsman*. Besides, by being at Liberty, I should be in greater Capacity to glorify the LORD than under Restraint, where I could not see a godly Person, nor be anywise useful save by a few Letters. And I saw much of the Mercy of God, that without paying a Fine, or engaging to any sinful Terms the Council should have given Orders for my Liberty.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, when I thought upon my Case, Banishment was grievous and burdensome to me: But, addressing myself to the LORD, and pouring out my troubled Soul (as it was ordinary for me to do in such Cases) I found that this Storm calmed; and the Consideration of God's Providence over, and Propriety in all Places, Experience of former Favours, and especially that Word, *Surely Goodness and Mercy shall follow me*

all the Days of my Life, did sweetly stay my Heart: And being called of GOD to wander from my Father's House, and Land of my Nativity, to a Land GOD would shew me, I laboured to fit myself for my Journey, and to *take up my Cross*: And the LORD so blest my Endeavours, in a short Time I settled all my civil Affairs, and was ready to come away at the Time prefixed.

So as leaving *Scotland* and all Friends there, I directed my Course for *London* about the latter End of *May*, 1682; and after some Stops, and Dangers by Sea, I safely arrived there *June* 16, 1682. My Voyage was much alleviated by the Company of another Countryman who came along with me, whose Company was much satisfying to me. I brought not above twenty Pounds with me to *London*, but the LORD I found was with me in all Places where I was driven; for I had both Meat and Wages. I did resolve indeed, as sensible of my own Weakness, to forbear Preaching, and any publick Work; as likewise after long and great Tossings, to improve, in a private Station, my spiritual Condition: But GOD did thwart this; for, the more I endeavoured this Way, the worse I became: And at the same Time I had Calls to preach at several Places, some of which I closed with, and found more of spiritual Advantage to my Soul than in private Exercises. Wherefore I resolved to follow that Way, and did every Night preach and pray in a private Family, where about five or six Neighbours at Night did ordinarily resort; every LORD's Day I preached to a gathered Church in Fellowship with Mr. C. from whom I had ten Shillings for every Sermon; at other Times I likewise preached to others, but freely. And truly the LORD gave me to find great Favour and Respect from the *English*, and more than many

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others did, and whom I found to be as genteel, tender-hearted and generous People as ever I conversed with.

I LIVED the first seven Months upon my own Charges for all Things; but afterwards I had a Call from a Widow Gentlewoman to stay in her Family, to pray, and sometimes exhort and preach: From her I had Lodging and Diet free, in whose House I prayed, read, and expounded Scripture twice a Day; and thus continued 'till the 21st of *July*, 1683, that I was apprehended and imprison'd in Newgate for six Months, for refusing the *Oxford* Oath.

UPON the 21st of *July*, 1683, about the Time that a Plot against the King's Person and Government was discovered, and about three or four Days after my Lord *Russel's* Execution; at Ten o'Clock I was expeding a certain Business with a Gentleman in *Cheapside*, and one Mr. *A.* one of the King's Messengers, searching for suspected Persons in that very House where I was, and particularly for one Mr. *Sands*, meeting me as I came down, and knowing me to be a Stranger, presently secured me by a Constable, brought me to his own House, kept me Prisoner five or six Hours, and after brought me before some of the Council: There were the King, the Duke of *York*, Lord *K.* Lord *S.* and some others I know not. After some immaterial Questions relating to my Nation, where I lodged, and some others of that Nature, I was asked, What I knew or heard of a Plot against his Majesty at any Time? I replied, that I knew Nothing of a Plot against his Majesty's Person or Government, nor heard any Thing but what was discovered since the Plot did break out, nor knew or heard any Thing I could make them the wiser by; that

that I was no publick Person, nor Frequenter of Cabals or Coffee-Houses; that I know not any one Person, either Accusers or Accused, in that Plot; that I always lived peaceably, and was never accessory to any Plot or Insurrection that ever was; that in my Judgment I was against all violent Attempts against his Majesty or Government; and that it was not likely any who had such Designs, knowing my Principles, would communicate ought to me of it; yea, that I always shunned Discourses of that Nature. Then the King was pleased to ask me, Whether I judged myself bound by the solemn League and Covenant? I answered, That, for my Part, I never took that Covenant, nor was it ever tendered to me; but what was of moral Import in it, I judged I was bound thereto, altho' I myself never took it; and that, however the Words of the Decalogue and the Covenant were not the same, yet might the Covenant be reduced to it, as materially the same with the Decalogue: That I remembered two chief Articles of the Covenant, the one was *Reformation of our Hearts and Lives according to the Word of God*; and this I thought might be easily reduced to every Precept of the Decalogue, each of which tied us to Reformation and Repentance. After this I was asked some Questions concerning my Acquaintance with several Persons, as Mr. *Fergusson*, Mr. *Munro*, Mr. *Baillie of Jerviswood* and others; to which I gave a true, full, ingenuous Answer, and was after commanded to remove. What were their Thoughts of me, I know not; but it seems they were satisfied I was not in the Plot, and that I dealt ingenuously with them; and yet were not willing to let me go, but refered me to the Lord-Mayor, and ordered him to put the Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy and *Oxford Oath* to me.

THE next Day therefore I appeared before the Lord Mayor, and when asked by him, whether I would take the Oaths, my Answers did issue in this, That as for the Oath of Allegiance, I was willing to take it; for the Oath of Supremacy, I demurred upon it, untill I advised better; and for the *Oxford* Oath, I refused it. So an Order was drawn, and I sent to *Newgate*.

IN *Newgate* I continued twenty-four Weeks. Here I had Experience of the LORD's Goodness, which did never leave me: I had, soon after I came, one of the best Rooms in the Prison, in which any Person might lodge; a large, cleanly, lightsome, square Room it was, and off the Ground as you come in: The Captain and Under-Keepers were all very civil to us, carrying both wisely and discreetly: I kept my Health very well all the Time I was there: We had comfortable Fellowship with our Fellow Prisoners, who might see one another all Day; some I perceived unlearned, yet obstinate: Such as I had greatest Converse with, were those of our own Persuasion, who were truly the most sober and learned that were there. In general, I found all of them civil: We were abundantly refreshed and supplied by Numbers of all Ranks and Persuasions that came to see us: We wanted Nothing. So that I could hardly call it Suffering. Only this was sad to us, and which made me desirous to be gone and at Liberty, that

1. That we had no Occasion of doing Good to others, for we preached none while there; for we were not suffered, nor others to come in to us.
2. It was grievous to me especially, that I had no Occasions nor Opportunities for Retirement; for having a Chamber-Fellow with me, and all Day oppressed with Visitants, I could not in the twenty-four Hours command one for myself: Wherefore

I do

I did little or no Good here, and got as little; only I gave my Testimony for *Christ*, and had Experience of the LORD's Goodness. When the Number of my Weeks were fulfilled, I was without farther Work set at Liberty, the Turnkey getting Word only from the Captain to let me out when I pleased. So taking my Leave of the Captain, and thanking him for his Civilities, I came out; my Expences in all not reaching above twenty Pounds.

I OBSERVED hence (1) Although at some Times there be more or less of Persecution, yet there is no Time in which we shall be without daily Crosses; for a wicked World will persecute with the Tongue, even in *Abraham's* Family, *Gal. iv. 28, 29. Gen. xxi. 9.* Even when Religion was favoured, I found Persecution by Reproach, and Contempt of wicked Men. (2.) There are some special Days of Persecution, when Hell breaks loose, and when great Trials come, which are called *the Hour of Temptation, and the evil Day, the Hour and Power of Darknes*, *Rev. iii. 10. Eph. vi. 13. Luke viii. 13, 22, 25.* (3.) Seldom or never doth a great personal or publick Stroke come upon the LORD's People, but He gives them some Warning of it beforehand, that we be prepared for it. (4.) The Cross of *Christ*, when we once engage with it, is nothing so terrible, nothing so heavy as at a Distance: How dreadful did a Prison and appearing before Synagogues appear to me! But, when I did encounter therewith, I found it nothing so terrible to me. (5.) I was never in that Trouble yet upon the Account of *Christ*, but I was delivered out of it by the LORD, and that when it seemed very desperate to look for Salvation, *Psaln xxxiv. 25. The Troubles of the Righteous are many, but the LORD delivereth out of them all.* We

are to believe Deliverance from all our Troubles though we cannot tell when or how. (6.) It is Matter of great Humiliation to us, that our Troubles and Afflictions do us but little Good, that we are so unfruitful under the Rod: And especially I observe, that small Troubles have but small Influence; every Physick doth not work with strong Constitutions. My lighter Troubles, whether upon a personal or more publick Account, I found but little Good by: It was a deep Heart-reaching Stroke that did me Good: And in Times of greatest Fears, sharpest Afflictions, it was ever still best with me; at first Afflictions do not so much Good, it is afterwards that they reap *the peaceable Fruits of Righteousness*, Heb. xii. 10. (7.) Persecutors are ungodly, are cruel; are deceitful; and this did I see evidently, all Persecutors have these three Properties: And therefore let us beware of such Persons, and keep at the utmost Distance with them, and expect no Good from them; let us not lean on them who smite us; let us suspect all their Favours, for *the Kisses of an Enemy are deceitful*; but *let our Eyes be only to the LORD*. (8.) Too great Love, Respect to, Intimacy and Communion with wicked Men, and not standing at due Distance with them, provokes the LORD to give his People into the Hands of the Wicked. The *Israelites* wicked Confederacy with the *Canaanites* made them *Briers and Thorns in their Sides*; had we carried to the Ungodly as we had ought to have done, we should not have smarted as we do this Day. (9.) Sufferings on publick Accounts are not only our Duty, but our great Privilege; to suffer for *Christ*, is one of *Christ's* Love-Gifts, *Phil. i. ult.* *It is given you to suffer for the Name of Christ*. To give Testimony for *Christ* and his Truth, is our greatest Honour: A Sufferer and Witness for *Christ* is the most honourable Person
and

and Officer in the Kingdom of *Christ*; 'tis *Christ*'s highest and honourablest Employment, *Acts* v. 41. *They rejoiced they were counted worthy to suffer Shame for Christ.* (10.) Outward Trouble from the Hands of Persecutors may be both a Rod and Correction for Sin, and a Testimony for *Christ* and his Truth: The LORD JESUS may by one Rod design both the Correction and Chastisements of his Church and People, and likewise design a Confirmation and Witness to his Truth, Cause and Work. (11.) We by our Sins therefore may provoke the LORD to deliver us into the Hands of Men, and by our Weakness we may have some sinful Hand and Occasion thereto, and great Failings attending our Sufferings; and yet *Christ* accepts of our Sufferings, so maimed, as a Testimony for Him. (12.) I observe the LORD doth accept of the faithful Endeavours, and honest Intention and Zeal of his People, when the Methods, and particular Means and Courses they take for witnessing for *Christ*, are sometimes not altogether justifiable; as he who scruples thro' Want of Light an Oath in itself lawful, out of Zeal for the Glory of GOD which he fears by taking this Oath he wrongs, and thereupon suffers, this Man's Suffering are accepted of *Christ* as a Testimony for Him. (13.) It is the People of GOD that only can undo and harm themselves; and it is by Division that it is done: While we stood in one Spirit, we could not be overcome or prevail'd against; but false Brethren crept in amongst us, divided and broke us through the Subtily of Adversaries, and drew us to rash Enterprizes. (14.) Though the LORD can sanctify and bless any Lot to his People, yet to speak absolutely, an afflicted Condition in the World is best for GOD's People.

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THE
LIVES
OF
Mr. *THO. TREGOSS,*
AND
Dr. *SAMUEL WINTER.*

To which is added

A short ACCOUNT of
Some EMINENT PERSONS
OF
The CHURCH of *Scotland.*

THE

LIVES

OF

MR. THO. TREGGESS



DR. SAMUEL WATER

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A Short Account of

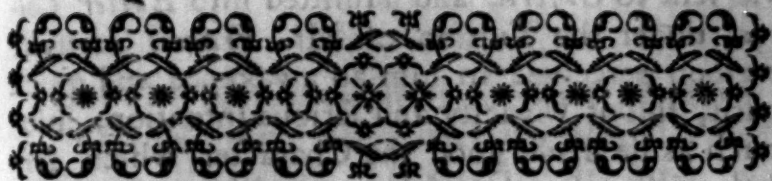
SOME EMINENT PERSONS

OF

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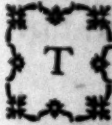


T H E

L I F E

O F

Mr. *THOMAS TREGOSS.*


T H O M A S T R E G O S S was born at *St. Ives*, near the Land's End in *Cornwall*. His Parents were godly Persons; and this was manifested in the Education of their Son, whose tender Years they seasoned with the Principles of Religion, and good Literature. About the Age of seven Years he began to discover that he was of a quick Apprehension, and of a firm and tenacious Memory: And he had from his Youth a strong Inclination to the Work of the Ministry, and would often (when he was but a Child) stand up upon a Stool or Bench, and after his Manner preach to his Play-fellows.

W H E N

WHEN he had attained Grammar Learning, he was sent to *Oxford*, and admitted into *Exeter College*, under the Tuition of Mr. *Francis Howell*: He soon perceived in him an awakened and quick Spirit, full of Vivacity and serious Intention, inso-much as he made good the Character which *Aristotle* gives of a hopeful young Man, ἀγαπῶν τὸν λόγον, To act vigorously, which he shewed in whatever Exercises he was engaged in.

ONE Day hearing Dr. *Conant* upon that Text, *Hosea* vi. 4. *O Ephraim, what shall I do unto Thee?* Some Passages of that Sermon made so deep an Impression upon him, that his Conscience was filled with no small Terror. When he went to Bed, he was not without Fears that he should never live to see another Day: When in his Study, that he should never come out alive.

AND so long as the Terrors of his awakened Conscience continued, he could not endure to hear a vain Word, or to be a Spectator of what had but the Appearance of Sin in it. Yet by Degrees these Lights vanished away; neither did they at that Time end in a thorough Conversion.

WHEN he had spent some Time in the University, he returned to *St. Ives*, and having there given them some Taste of his ministerial Gifts, the Inhabitants of that Place invited him to be their Minister. This Request he at first modestly refused, but at length, being overcome by their Importunity, consented to spend some Time amongst them: Whereupon he was *August* 17, 1657, in that Church solemnly set apart for the Work of the Ministry: And there he continued two Years, a hard and close Student all the Week, and a faithful

ful and constant Preacher twice every LORD's Day.

BEFORE his Departure from this Place he took to Wife *Margaret Sparman*, who proved a meek, humble, affectionate Yoke-fellow to him. And whilst he continued in this Town, there were two Providences that ought not to be forgotten.

THE Summer after his Abode among them, much of the Fishing-season was expired, and no *Pilchards* appeared, the Sense whereof greatly afflicted the Inhabitants of the Place; that Town depending much upon the *Pilchard* Trade. Hereupon Mr. *Tregofs* persuaded them to join with him in keeping a Day of Humiliation and Prayer; the Duty being performed, the very next Day came in a great Shoal of these Fishes.

THE other providential Dispensation was this: The Summer following the Fishermen having taken a great Number of *Pilchards* upon a *Saturday*, all that Night was spent in ordering of them: And the Seamen were very intent upon drying their Nets on the LORD's Day. This Mr. *Tregofs* rebuked them for; withal, giving them to understand, that they provoked the LORD to withdraw his Blessing, which fell out accordingly: For from that Time to the End of the Fishing-season they had no Occasion of making Use of their Nets again.

FROM *St. Ives* Mr. *Tregofs* removed in *October* 1659, to the Vicarage of *Miler* and *Mabe*, where he continued in his Constancy of Study and Preaching till he was ejected by the Act of *Uniformity*. And then being excluded from the publick Place of

Prayer and Preaching, he ceased not to preach in his own Family twice every LORD's Day; which being known in the Neighbourhood, divers who had the Comfort of his Ministry in publick, could not but thirst after it in private.

THIS being known abroad, the News of it was carried to the Lord Lieutenant of the County, who for his refusing to take the Oath appointed for the Militia, committed him to the Custody of the Marshal, with whom he continued about three Months, yet not ceasing to preach to his Fellow-prisoners. At last he was released by an Order from the Deputy-lieutenant.

IN Septemler 1663, Mr. Tregofs removed his Habitation to *Kigilliack*, in the Parish of *Badock*, near *Penryn*; where he still kept up his LORD's Days Exercises. About the Beginning of *October* 1664, he and his Wife lying awake in their Bed, felt a great Earthquake, which made the Room to tremble under them, as they apprehended. And that which ministered to them great Cause of Admiration, was, that no one else felt the same: But this was but a Prognostick of what Mr. Tregofs shortly felt in his Conscience.

FOR on the first of *January* following, being a LORD's Day, it pleased GOD to direct him to preach on that Text, *Luke xii. 47. And that Servant that knew his Lord's Will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his Will, shall be beaten with many Stripes.* Upon which Text he shewed what a dangerous Sin it is to sin against Knowledge. When the Duties of the Day were ended, the LORD brought his old Sins to his Remembrance, and set them in order before him, especially one above the rest. Hereupon he betook himself

himself to Duties, but drove on therein very heavily, Yet did the LORD draw him on to persevere in the same.

SOMETIMES he feared the LORD would leave him to run on in his former sinful Courses: But GOD magnified his Grace above, and beyond his Fears. Sometimes in reading the Holy Scriptures the LORD would set Home Threatnings, and anon support him by his comfortable Promises, to keep him equally ballanced, between Hopes, that so he might not sink, and Fears, that he might not presume.

THUS for about five Weeks he was detained under the Spirit of Bondage, having all this While no Discoveries of GOD's Mercy towards him, 'till about the Beginning of *February* following: At which Time, by GOD's good Providence, he met with a Passage in one of our *English* Divines, setting forth the Greatness and Freeness of GOD's Love; which the LORD setting Home unto him, he was somewhat quieted and refreshed.

THE next Day he had a sweet melting Frame of Spirit wrought in him for his Sins, together with a lively Contemplation of *Christ's* Sufferings. He, who formerly thought it an hard Matter to shed one Tear for Sin, had now Plenty. The Spirit of the LORD also bringing that Promise to his Mind: *I will forgive their Iniquities, and remember their Sins no more.* And that of *Christ* to *Thomas*, *Reach hither thy Finger, and behold my Hands, and reach hither thy Hand, and thrust it into my Side, and be not faithless, but believing.* After this, he was carried on in the Exercise of Duties with more Enlargements and affectionate Workings of Spirit than formerly.

FROM this Time he dated his Conversion: For although his Conversation for some considerable Time before was irreproachable, and his Labours in the Work of the Ministry indefatigable; yea, and his Zeal remarkable, yet he judged the whole of his foregoing Life to be no other than Formality.

SOME short Time after this great Change, being brought very low, he apprehended that his Death drew near. But then was that Scripture brought into his Mind, *Psalm cxviii. I shall not die, but live, and declare the Works of the LORD.* Afterward being again under strong Apprehensions of his Death approaching, and looking into his Bible, God directed his Eye to that Portion of Scripture, *Psalm liii. 5. They were in great Fear where no Fear was;* which drove away that Temptation: And not long after he regained Strength to go on in his Labours.

A SHORT Time after this, being very weak in Body, and almost despairing of Recovery, he went up to his Chamber, as well as his feeble Legs could carry him, where he fell down upon his Knees in Prayer: And whilst he was in this Duty, he suddenly found that a great Measure of Strength was given him. Whereupon he attempted to arise, and to walk, which he accordingly did, about his Chamber, very strongly.

FEELING this strange Alteration, he called his Wife, who soon espied the Change, finding his pale Cheeks had their wonted Colour and Complexion. And now he, that not many Moments before was drawing near the Grave, was enabled to perform the Duties of the Evening; yea, the next Day's Duties, (being the LORD's Day) with much Vigour and Strength.

APRIL

APRIL 30, 1665, being the LORD's Day, whilst he was in Prayer, he was much distracted about his intended Preaching in Publick, whereunto he seemed to be drawn by a manifest Course of Providence, which he resisted, 'till at last he was forced to yield. That Week he had been wondering what the LORD would do with him: He could not study as formerly, but was induced and over-ruled to read a practical Discourse of Self-denial? And the LORD furnished his Meditations with many Passages about Sufferings, and the Creature's Duty to live in the Will of his Creator, and to resign himself wholly to his Disposal. And when he had ended his Reading, casting his Eye upon his Bible, the first Words he met with were those, *Matt. ix. 36. When He saw the Multitude He had Compassion on them, because they fainted, and were scattered abroad, as Sheep having no Shepherd.*

AT the reading of this Text he inwardly trembled, and the LORD seemed to intimate to him, that he should put on the like Bowels. But he questioned with himself, where he should find an Opportunity of preaching in publick? And presently *Mabe* (which is a Daughter-Church to *Miller*, and had Preaching in it; only every other LORD's Day) was suggested to his Thoughts: And after many Reasonings within himself, being backward to yield to the Will of GOD, he at last resolved to send thither to enquire whether any Minister would be there the LORD's Day following? Answer was returned, that there would be none.

YET still doubting whether he might look upon this as a Call from GOD, he cast his Eye upon his Bible, and met with that Text, *Luke xi. 33. No Man when He hath lighted a Candle, putteth it in*

a secret Place, or under a Bushel, but on a Candlestick, that they that come in may see the Light. This Scripture cleared all his Doubts, and confirmed him in his Resolution of preaching in publick. And accordingly, when the Sabbath came, he went thither, and found the People willing to hear, and so he went on and preached without any Disturbance, and the LORD assisted him in all the Duties.

THE Report of this was soon spread abroad, and came to the Ears of Mr. Thomas Robinson, a Justice of the Peace. The next LORD's Day, being May 7, the Morning proving rainy, Mr. Tregofs preached in his own House, upon the Text, *Luke xxi. 19. In your Patience possess ye your Souls; not expecting any Disturbance that Day by Reason of the foul Weather.* But after the Sermon was ended, Mr. Robinson came to his Door, and having entered, took the Names of those that were present: And required Mr. Tregofs to put in Sureties, or to render himself to the Constable upon his Order the Monday se'nnight after; Mr. Tregofs refused to do the former, but promised to perform the latter.

AFTER Mr. Robinson's Departure, they met again in the Afternoon, and went through without any Disturbance. The next LORD's Day he preached again at *Mabe* without Interruption. But when the Exercises were finished, he was served with a Warrant to appear before Mr. Robinson at *Hellston* on the *Tuesday* following. At his Appearance he justified his Preaching with much Boldness: But notwithstanding all he said, he was sent to *Launceston* Goal for three Months. This he submitted to, not only patiently, but joyfully. In his Passage to Prison he embraced all Opportunities for confirming and comforting of such Christian Friends

as he met with by the Way. And whilst he continued in Prison, his Spirit was very free, and much enlarged with those Refreshings which God gave him.

He spent his Time in Prison in reading the Holy Scriptures, in heavenly Meditations, in Fasting, Prayer, holy Conference with, and preaching to such as were his Fellow-prisoners, or that came to visit him. The Time of his Imprisonment being expired, *July 20*, he was set at Liberty, and after his Return Home he took the first Opportunity of keeping a Day of Thanksgiving, for the many Experiences he had of God's Goodness, during his Confinement.

He had not been at Home above four Days, when Mr. *Robinson* gave out, that he would speedily send him back to the Place from whence he came: And in order thereto, upon the *Friday* or *Saturday* after, he prepared himself to ride to the Town, to meet another Justice of the Peace, who would join with him in a Warrant for a second Conviction of Mr. *Tregofs* and some others.

BUT whilst he was at a Tenement of his, his own Bull (which was never known to hurt any before) followed him in a Field with much Fury, and gave him several Wounds, whereof he died.

AUGUST 20, Mr. *Tregofs* went again and preached at *Mabe* Church, it being the LORD's Day, and without any Disturbance: The like he did on that Day Fortnight after, spending the Intervals with much Activity in his Master's Service. Yet he had many Dissuasives from preaching publicly, but all could not satisfy his Conscience: And therefore *September 18*, he was again committed

mitted to *Launceston* Goal for publick Preaching: Whither he went with comfortable Persuasions that GOD would carefully protect and provide for himself and his Family.

THIS his second Imprisonment in that Place conduced to the Good of many Souls: For the Report of his Bonds being spread abroad, many came to visit him, to whom he imparted freely his spiritual Gifts, and by GOD's Blessing upon his Labours, some were begotten through the Gospel, in his Bonds.

DURING this Imprisonment he took several Opportunities of visiting the common Prisoners: He enjoyed many spiritual Refreshments in his Soul, especially in the Time of Duties: He had also many sweet and gracious Returns to his Prayers, and some prophetick Intimations of future Providences. As,

OCTOBER 2, praying earnestly that GOD would vouchsafe him Opportunities of doing him Service, the LORD gave him firmly to believe that he should shortly be released from this Restraint, and that he should be no more imprisoned in that Place; which GOD made good to him, notwithstanding many Attempts to the contrary. Also *October* 7, being much enlarged in praying for Patience, and Submission to the Will of GOD, he grew very confident that ere long GOD would farther try him. So *October* 23, GOD seemed sundry Ways to intimate to him, that some great Affliction was near at Hand, but that he should be delivered from it; all which proved true.

DECEMBER 14, he was delivered out of Prison, and upon his Return Home he kept a Day of
Thankf-

Thanksgiving; and shortly after he set apart every *Tuesday*, which he kept as a Day of Humiliation or Thanksgiving, either with his Family, or with others.

JANUARY 8, being the LORD's Day, he went to *Mabe*, where he preached both Parts of the Day without Interruption; which was accompanied with this remarkable Providence, that whilst he was at *Mabe*, a Constable came to his House to seek Him; but by that Means missed of him.

JANUARY 12, he begun a Journey towards the East Part of *Cornwall*, and from thence went into *Devonshire*. The LORD's Day and *Wednesday* following his House was searched for him; but being from Home, he escaped their Hands. In this Journey he went forth on the South of *Cornwall*, and returned on the North, preaching in all Places where he came, and received great Encouragement by the Fruit of his Labours.

AT his Return, *February 4*, going to preach at *Mabe*, the Constable served him with a Warrant, to carry him under the Custody of the Marshal, as a dangerous and seditious Person; which he was so far from being guilty of, that neither in his Preaching, nor Conference, did he ever meddle with the present Discipline or Liturgy of the Church, much less with any State-affairs: Nay, he persuaded others to be obedient to the higher Powers; and in his daily Exercises he put up many fervent Petitions for the King's Majesty.

BEING now under the Custody of the Marshal of *Bodmin*, this brought him into Acquaintance with several who reaped much Good by his Ministry

stry. The Marshal used him civilly; yet did he meet with more Difficulties than in his former Confinements: But yet the LORD honoured him with the Coverſion of many Souls.

HE continued in this Priſon 'till about the Miſt of *September*. Being on a Time very earneſt in Prayer, a Portion of Scripture was preſented to him, which made ſo deep an Impreſſion, that he was confident, if he was delivered, it ſhould be by an Order from the King's Maſteſty. And not long after, the Marshal received a ſpecial Order from the King's Maſteſty for his Enlargement.

IN *February* 1668, coming to *Penryn* to preach his *Monday's* Lecture, he fell ſick of a Fever, which held him all that Week. Upon the LORD's Day Morning, the Senſe of his Weakneſs did ſomewhat affect him, becauſe the People, who attended upon his Miniſtry, had none to ſupply his Room: Whereupon he had that Scripture impreſſed upon his Thoughts, *Iſa. lx. 31. They that wait on the LORD ſhall renew their Strength.* This ſo much wrought upon him, that he reſolved to ariſe: But all his Friends that were about him laboured to diſſuade him, knowing how weak he was.

WHEN he had got on his Cloaths, he applied himſelf to his LORD's Work; and as he went on it, Strength by Degrees, was given to him, ſo that he preached thrice that LORD's Day, chooſing that Text afore-named (*Iſaiah lx. 31.*) for his Subject; and to the great Aſtoniſhment, as well of himſelf as of his Friends, he found himſelf well at Night, neither did he feel ſo much as any Relicks of his Diſtemper afterwards.

IN the Beginning of the Year 1669, the Number of his Auditors were so much augmented, that the Rooms wherein they usually met would not contain them, which occasioned the Removal of their Meeting into a large Barn, until, being summoned by the Proprietor of that Barn, to quit his House, he thereupon took up his Habitation in the Town of *Penryn*. Yet before his Removal, a Mittimus came from the Quarter-Sessions, to send him to the Gaol at *Launceston* for preaching publicly.

THE Constables coming to serve the Warrant, one of them more violent and furious than his Fellows, whilst he reasoned with Mr. *Tregofs*, holding the Mittimus in his Hand, sunk down in the Place, seeming to be dead: But by the Endeavour of those about him, he was brought to himself, whereupon he departed without executing the Warrant. That which made this the more remarkable, was, that he was a lusty Man, and never fainted in his Life before. And though they came again, some Days after to execute the Warrant, yet had they not Power to carry Him to Prison: For which, (as it was reported) the other Constable was fined at the next Sessions.

AT the Summer Assizes, 1669, Mr. *Tregofs* having some Affairs which called him to *Launceston*, in his Journey was invited to visit the North-west Parts of *Devonshire*; from whence, for Preaching in a private House in the Parish of *Great-Torrington*, he was sent to *Exeter* Gaol, with several others, who being all bailed, had for that Time no other Trouble than to traverse a Bill for a Riot, which was preferred against them.

THIS

THIS Trouble which befel Mr. *Tregofs* in *Devonshire*, was Occasion of much Good to many Souls ; for it opened a Door to many Hundreds in *Devonshire*, who resorted to him in his Travels, and so became Partakers of his Gifts.

THIS made him to lay himself Day and Night to the utmost of his Strength, allowing his Body no more than extream Necessity required, that so he might improve all Advantages and Opportunities for the Advancement of his Master's Service. The Bill which had been preferred against him at *Exeter*, necessitated him to attend the two following Assizes, where he was at last freed by Proclamation. But in the mean While, his Return into those Parts was of no small Advantage for the Propagation of the Gospel. Some of those Persons who discovered their Malice against Mr. *Tregofs*, for Preaching at *Torrington*, were shortly after taken away by unnatural Deaths, not without signal Tokens of God's Displeasure against them.

AFTER Mr. *Tregofs* came to reside at *Penryn*, he hired a House for a Meeting-place on the LORD's Day in the Parish of *Mabe*, where he exercised without Interruption, from *Midsummer*, 1669, to the Tenth of *May* 1670: After which Day there were two Persons that made Oath against Mr. *Tregofs* and some others for Breach of the Statute against Conventicles: This scared away most of his Hearers, especially those that had considerable Estates. Yet, though there were many Fines laid upon him, which amounted to 220*l.* the LORD so ordered Things, that Nothing he had was seized upon.

THIS Meeting being thus dissolved, he resolved to preach the oftner to a Statute Number: And herein

herein his Labours were so many and so great, as though his Body were of Steel, yet could he not long hold out. For he preached five Times every LORD's Day, and in the Evening made Repetition of some Part. He also continued the *Tuesdays* and *Thursdays* Exercises, besides some others. He was often advised by his Friends to favour himself, and to moderate his Pains: But the great Zeal he had for advancing the Work of GOD stoped his Ears against all Dissuasives: Having at last worn out himself, he fell into a lingering Cholic, which brought him so low, that his Friends judged him past Recovery; and he himself expressed a longing Desire to be dissolved, and to be with *Christ*.

BUT the LORD was pleased to reprieve him a little longer, and set him once more upon his Feet. As soon as he perceived a small Recruit of his Strength, he began to fall upon his Work again: Yet this continued but for a very short Time, before a Fever seized him, and put an End to his Labours. His Department during his Sickness was like his Life, very sweet and heavenly. Upon the 18th of *January*, perceiving the Hour of his Dissolution draw near, he took his Farewell of his Friends in a long Speech, Part of which followeth.

Some may think me passionate, and some may think me uncharitable; but now I repent that I had not dealt more plainly with you. However, in the Truth of the LORD, according to mine Ability, I have walked among you: And I hope that you will not think it tedious if I drop a few Words upon my Grave before I die. Then the Physician stopping him, lest he should spend his Spirits too much, Mr. Tregofs said,

Give me Leave to speak, for I am upon the Borders of Eternity: You may therefore suffer me to speak as much as I can. I am going to my great, to my dear Father, to my best Friend, to Him in whom I have believed his Face I hope to see; in his Bosom I hope to lye down this Day. Oh! what unspeakable Glory to see mine everlasting GOD? The last LORD's Day, the LORD gave some sweet Turns with Himself: Oh! It was a pleasant Night with me: I was up with GOD; and GOD was down with me. It was to me as the going up to Paradise.

And, now my Friends, I must tell you, that thro' many Tribulations you must enter into the Kingdom of GOD: Some of you have told me your Thoughts concerning me, That I have walked in all good Conscience towards GOD and Man. O Friends! Whatsoever Things ye have seen in me that were honest; whatsoever Things were just; whatsoever Things were of good Report, pursue those Things. Rely not upon the World; for the World will leave you cold and helpless. And now I must go to see the LORD, and this Body of mine must be laid in the Dust, and never rise more until the Resurrection Day. And must you go from this Place, and come naked before the Face of GOD? O Friends, if there be any Hope; if there be any Love; if there be any Consolation in you, think on these Things! And now, Flesh and Blood will say, it is hard to part with dear Friends, to part with a dear Wife, to part with dear Children: But as the LORD hath given them to me, so I now leave them with the LORD.

And I call you to witness that I leave this dear Wife of mine with the LORD, and these dear Children of mine with the LORD: To be protected by Him; to be maintained by Him; to be kept blameless to the Day of his Appearance. Though Men may prove unkind

to them, as I suppose they will; yet the LORD, I know, will not. I must into Eternity. The Prophets do not live for ever; neither can they prophesy for ever. I have been but a young Branch, and you see, the LORD is cutting me down this Morning. O Blessed LORD GOD! Shall there not be a Meeting in Paradise? Shall not thy Servant see Thee, and love Thee, and embrace Thee, and be embraced by Thee? O LORD! Give a good Evidence to thy Servant, that he may know that he belongeth to Thee.

LORD, Thou hast given him the Working of an Heart purifying Spirit. And are not these Tokens of thy Free Grace? And of thy Love in Christ Jesus? And now LORD GOD, thy Servant must away, and be about other Work. Thy Servant must away to holy Angels, and to the Spirits of just Men made perfect. He must away to serve the LORD in his upper Chambers. He must away and never look on these Things more.

And, now O Friends, one Thing I tell you; I shall come again with my LORD in most excellent Glory, and you then must come before Him: But I fear some of you will be in a miserable Condition. Well, I commend you to the Love and Grace of GOD, the Eternal Father in Jesus Christ. And I pray you get your Hearts full of the Love of GOD, and of the Grace of GOD, and full of the Holy Ghost.

Think on these Things that I have delivered unto you, in the Name of the LORD! I must go, and deliver up my Accounts to GOD: And O, that I may deliver them up freely: That I may be able to say, I have finished my Course; I have fought the good Fight; I have kept the Faith; and what remains but that I receive the Crown which the LORD Jesus, the righteous Judge hath prepared for me? And now

I commit myself to the LORD: And my Wife and Children to the LORD: I commit my Spirit to Thee, O Father of Spirits. I commit my Soul to Thee, O dearest LORD: Keep these that believe on Thee.

THESE Words he spake with a more audible and clear Voice than he was wont to do in his ordinary Preaching. About an Hour and a Half after he departed this Life, *January 18, Anno Christi 1670.*

HE did not, as some, take *Christ* to ease himself of his Work, or to secure his Lusts, but to kill them, and to quicken himself to Duty. His Peace of Conscience was maintained, not by Peace, but by War with Sin: It was not only from, but in GOD: He had not only a Form of *Christ* in his Life, and Picture of Him in his Fancy; but also the Image of, Union with, and Love for *Christ* in his Heart. He affected not so much Disputes about the Controversies of Religion, as to get the Power of it stamped upon his own, and others Souls.

HIS daily Progress in the Mortification of Sin, was very remarkable, and conspicuous. He knew full well that one reigning Lust would darken his Comfort, and harden his Heart; yea, bring all into Bondage and Captivity, and therefore he durst not gratify any Lust in the least. He was content to give up every Lust to Death for *Christ*, who gave up his Soul to Death for him. He thought it not much to part with any beloved Sin for Him who was his beloved Saviour. Yea, he seemed to take more Pleasure in subduing his Desires, than others do in gratifying them. And lest his Flesh should impose upon his more noble Part, he enured, and accustomed himself to many bodily

Severities, and denied himself such natural Refreshments, as most others indulge themselves in. Yet did he not content himself with external Mortifications, but maintained a daily Conflict with the whole Body of Sin in corrupt Nature. Yea, he would oft blame himself much for spiritual Sins; as Infidelity, Pride, and Unbelief, which others could least blame him for.

By his frequent and long Sufferings he gained a great Skill and Dexterity in bearing the Cross. By crucifying his Heart to the World, he took out the Stings of his Sufferings. He knew that the Divine Will was more eligible than his own, and endeavoured to conform to it, as well by passive as by active Obedience. He knew that he could not glorify God more, than by being content that God's Glory should gain by his private Losses. He durst not make Sin a Shelter against Sufferings: Or bear false Witness against God, by repining under the Cross. He was not so well pleased with Sin, as to prefer it before Sufferings: Or so ill pleased with Sufferings, as to fly from them when he was called thereto. He enured himself to the Yoak of *Christ*, and so gained the Art of bearing his Cross. His Conscience continued under a lively Sense of Sin, and that made him dead, and in a Measure senseless under Sufferings. His Will was so far broken, that it could chearfully bend to the Cross; yea, welcome Crosses, when in God's Way he met with them. When God brought him into any Affliction or Suffering, he waited there 'till God brought him out. He knew himself to be Nothing, and that made him to bear any Thing from God with Contentment: And by knowing his own Vileness, he learned to justify God in every Cross.

HE had a fit Disposition for the Cross, which made that easy to him which seemed intolerable to others. As he durst not make Men Lords of his Faith, so neither of his Happiness, by doting on their Smiles or fearing their Frowns; but as worldly Men content themselves with the World without GOD, so he contented himself with GOD without the World. He had his present Wants supplied by ordinary or extraordinary Means, and therefore conceived it to be his Duty to trust GOD for the future. He knew that he had more of the Creature than he deserved, and therefore was not anxious about having more. He was much taken up about the weighty Things of Eternity, and therefore was little concerned about these baser Things.

NOTWITHSTANDING his ardent Zeal for GOD, yet was he of a quiet and peaceable Spirit. He did not delight in Contention, but was of a uniting, healing Spirit. He was not only a Patient, but also an Agent in seeking after, and pursuing Peace. He judged our Church-divisions to be one of our greatest Plagues. He had a catholick universal Love for all. But he had a special Affection for all Saints, as Saints making their Graces, not their Opinions, the Measure of his Love.

HE desired to avoid all needless Disputes. But when he was called to confer with those of different Judgments, he shewed forth much Modesty and Meekness; Arguing not for Victory, but to enquire into Truth; wherein he affirmed Nothing, but what he endeavoured soundly to prove out of the Scriptures; and when he could not fully comply with other Mens Persuasions, yet would he not impose his own on them, as the Rule of their Faith, or Communion.

He was a diligent Observer of his own Spirit, its Intentions, Inclinations, Motions, Risings and Fallings, as to Sin or Grace. He always kept a vigilant Eye over his Heart, and every Night made particular Reflections, on the Passages of the Day past, with a strict Examination how he had spent it: What his Conversation had been towards others? And how he had demeaned himself in his private Duties towards God? He examined, not only what he had done, but also from what Principles he had done it.

AND thus, by the Knowledge of what he had done, he came the better to know what he was to do; by studying well the Book of his own Heart and Life, he became a good Student, and Proficient in the Mystery of Godliness. He was a Man of great Observation, and of Nothing more than his own Spirit, its various Vicissitudes, Turnings, and Windings.

THUS he came to have an intimate Acquaintance with his own Heart, and an experimental Sense of the Holy Spirit's working in him. Hence also he came to know what Sins he had to confess, and humble himself for: What Mercies to bless God, or to petition for: What Burdens to groan under. At Sometimes he found himself under great Deadness and Distractions: At other Times under sweet Inspirations of the Holy Spirit, and Enlargements of Heart. Sometimes he sighed under Unbelief; at other Times he was upon the Wing of Faith and full of Courage.

FAITH and Prayer were his Refuge in all his Troubles. Indeed he seemed to drive a great Trade with Heaven by Prayer. Wherein he was very powerful and prevalent. He had a struggling, wrestling

wrestling Spirit in Prayer, bottomed upon a deep Sense of his own Need, large Desires, and lively Workings of Faith. What Strength he gained by Prayer, he lost not by careless Neglects after Prayer, but improved it for GOD. His Spirit seemed unsatisfied in Duty 'till he had met with GOD or Something from GOD. Sometimes he was dull and indisposed in the Beginning of a Duty, but before he came off, he found great Assistance. When he found Weakness the LORD gave unexpected Supplies of Strength. When he was dejected under any Fears, or Difficulties from within or from without, he had Recourse to his Bible, and thence received frequently such sweet, and encouraging Promises, set Home by the Spirit of GOD, as afforded Abundance of Relief.





THE
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Dr. SAMUEL WINTER.

SAMUEL WINTER was born in the Year 1603, at *Balsal*, in the Wood and Part of *Warwickshire*, about seven Miles from *Coventry*, of religious Parents; his Father was a Yeoman of good Account. When he was about twelve Years old, it pleased God, by the Ministry of one Mr. *Slader*, then Preacher at the Chapel of *Knowl*, to awaken his Conscience, and make him serious of his everlasting Salvation; as also to stir up in him earnest Desires of doing Good to the Souls of others; for which End one Day as he came from School, about a Mile from his Father's House, he retired under a Hedge to pray; and among other Petitions, he begged of God that He would qualify him for the Work of the Ministry, and make his

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Labours effectual and successful therein: At which Time he (at least thought that he) heard a Voice saying to him; *GOD hath heard thy Prayer, and designed thee for that Work, and thou shalt be an Instrument of converting many Souls to GOD:* This exceedingly cheered his Heart, so that coming Home, he applied himself to his Father, humbly requesting that he might be trained up for the Ministry. His Father asked him the Reason of those Desires? He told him, what a Prayer he had made, and what Return he had to it.

His Father being much affected therewith; sent him to the Free-school in *Coventry*, where, thro' his extraordinary Diligence, he made good Progress in Learning, within a few Years he became fit for the University; and accordingly he was sent to *Cambridge*, and placed in *Queen's College*, and had for some Time, that famous Dr. *Preston* for his Tutor. At the Feet of that *Gamiliel*, those natural and gracious Abilities which he brought with him, were much improved; and by the Direction of so excellent a Guide, and God's Blessing upon his unwearied Studies, he attained great Knowledge, both in the Tongues and Arts, and in Divinity.

WHEN he had commenced Master of Arts, being as yet unwilling to enter upon that great and dreadful Work of the Ministry, he left *Cambridge*, and went to *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, where he lived under the Ministry of Mr. *John Cotton*, out of whose Family (Sometime after) he married a Wife, one Mrs. *Anne Beeston*.

AFTER his Marriage, he fell into a violent Fever, which, in the Judgment of his Physicians, left

left no Hopes of his Recovery. His Wife being much afflicted therewith, he would often comfort her, telling her that he should not die at this Time; for that GOD had not yet fulfilled his Promise, wherein He had assured him that he should be an Instrument of converting many Souls. And accordingly he recovered, and then resolved to apply himself to the Work of the Ministry.

AND being more ambitious to do GOD and his Church Service, than to advance himself in the World, he removed from *Boston* to a small Living, near *Nottingham*, called *Woodborow*, where by a painful and powerful Preaching (many out of the neighbouring Towns flocking to his Ministry) the Seeds of Grace (through GOD's Blessing) were sown in the Hearts of many, which sprang up, and some of them remain unto this Day. This Place he always highly esteemed, and would often call it, *His First-born*.

FROM *Woodborow* he was removed to *York*, where he continued a Lecturer for some Time, and as there he had great Opportunities for Service, so had he great Success, receiving a manifest Seal to his Ministry, in the Conversion and Confirmation of many. But our Civil Wars breaking out about that Time, he could stay no longer at *York*. Yet, tho' the Door was shut against him in that Place, another large and effectual Door opened for him. For *Cottingham* (a great Town within three Miles of *Hull*) being then destitute of a Pastor, thither he was (by a more than ordinary Providence) brought: And in that Place, for about the Space of eight Years, he continued to be a *burning and a shining Light*: Burning in his Zeal and Doctrine, and shining in his exemplary Life and Conversation.

He

He preached twice every LORD's Day: He expounded the Chapters which he read, and catechised the younger Persons: In the Evening he repeated the Sermons in his own Family, to which many of the Neighbours also resorted. On the Week Days he took Occasion to go from House to House, instructing the Ignorant, and endeavouring to build up his Parishoners in their most holy Faith; and GOD was pleased so to bless his Labours that he became instrumental in begetting many Sons and Daughters unto GOD, as also of confirming many, who attained (partly by his publick Ministry, and partly by his private Pains) a great Measure of Grace and Gifts, so that they made Conscience of the strict Observation of the LORD's Day, of Closet and Family Duties, and of other spiritual Services required by GOD as Fruits of their Faith.

He was so meek and affable in his Deportment towards all Men, that his Company was pleasing, even to many that had no Relish of his Doctrine.

At *Cotttingham* he buried his loving and dearly beloved Wife, who left him five Sons: Which Loss yet was (thro' GOD's merciful Providence, abundantly repaired in his second Marriage about three Years after) with Mrs. *Eliz. Weaver*, Daughter of *Christopher Weaver*, Esq; she proved to be excellently qualified for the Good both of him and his Children.

IN 1650, the Powers who were then in Being, resolved to send over four Commissioners into *Ireland*, for the Settlement of that distracted, and almost ruined Kingdom; and judging it necessary to send with them a godly, able, and orthodox Divine, they ordered that Mr. *Winter* should attend these Commissioners thither. Which Order being
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sent to him to *Cottingham*, he looked upon as a clear Call from God. Yet for his better Satisfaction, he advised also with his Friends, and begged Direction from God in a Business of so weighty Concernment; after which he chearfully embraced this Call, hoping that God would bring some Glory to his own Name. And so, not consulting with Flesh and Blood, which might have suggested that it would be an unadvised Act, to part with so loving a People, and with so good a Rectory (it being above four hundred Pounds a Year) and to cast himself upon Strangers, neither knowing, nor capitulating with them what his Salary should be. Resigning his Living, he prepared for his Journey.

AT his coming over to *Ireland*, the Commissioners allowed him but one hundred Pounds for the first Year, which yet he chearfully accepted of, though it did not defray the Charges of his Transportation; with such Necessaries as he provided for the comfortable Accomodation of himself and Family: Much less did it repair the Losses which he sustained shortly after his Landing.

IN this his first Year he attended the Commissioners in several Journies, which they made into the four Provinces of *Ireland*; was their Household Chaplain, performed Family Duties, and preached in Publick every LORD's Day wherever they came: And in *Dublin* (where they resided the greatest Part of their Time) he preached twice every LORD's Day in *Christ-Church* before the Commissioners, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen of that City; many Gentlemen and others resorting to his Ministry.

NOT long after, some other Ministers coming from *England* to *Dublin*, the Commissioners (for the Ease of Mr. *Winter*) used to request one

or other of them to preach in the Morning, reserving Mr. *Winter* for the Afternoon. But he, not willing to be out of Employment, set up a Lecture, where he preached every Sabbath-Day in the Morning at Seven o' Clock, in the Church of *St. Nicholas*: And this Lecture was frequented by the Commissioners, Civil Magistrates, and many others; so that he had a very large Congregation.

ABOUT this Time the Commissioners taking Notice that *Trinity College* by *Dublin*, thro' the Iniquity of the Times, and the Distractions of that Kingdom, was left desolate by the Fellows and Students, and thereby brought almost to Ruin; they thought it their Duty, for the Advancement of Religion and Learning, to endeavour the Restoration of the same: And for that End they appointed Mr. *Winter*, to be the Provost of it; where after a Time, he commenced Doctor of Divinity, in a short Time he procured the Return of divers of the Fellows and Students to the College, as also the coming over from *England* of several hopeful young Scholars, whereby the College was suddenly filled with many religious young Men, likely to prove Instruments of God's Glory.

AND by the great Pains which he took with them, instructing them both in Human and Divine Learning, preaching and expounding the Scriptures to them, and often Praying with them both in the College Chappel, and in his own Lodgings, he gave as great Hopes of the flourishing of that Seminary of Learning and Piety, as of any College in Christendom.

WHILST Dr. *Winter* continued Provost of that College, he had Occasion to go to a Place called *Manuth*, a populous Town, about ten Miles from *Dublin*; where (according to his Custom in most Places

Places where he came) he Preached and found the People very attentive, and desirous to be instructed in the Way to Heaven: Whereupon, at the earnest Request, both of the Minister, and divers of the Inhabitants he rode over every three Weeks, and preached, which he continued for some Years, and GOD was pleased to bless his Labours for the Conversion of many *English* and *Irish*.

WHEN he returned into *England*, he and his Wife sojourned with some Friends, sometimes in and about *West-chester*: Sometimes at *Coventry*, and sometimes with his Wife's Relations in *Hertfordshire*, and *Rutlandshire*; in which Places (thro' GOD's Blessing) he became an Instrument of much Good, not only in the Families wherein he abode, but also to several Neighbours.

WHILST he was in *Rutlandshire*, on *Thursday*, *October 13*, in the Year 1666, he rode to a neighbouring Town to assist in carrying on a Day of Humiliation, wherein, having wearied his Body and spent his Spirits, he was fain to defer his Return Home, 'till the next Day. On the LORD's-Day following, he exercised twice, for the Instruction of the Family wherein he abode; and at his going to Bed, he found himself not well. On *Monday*, he continued ill, yet arose, came down and performed Family Duties.

AT Dinner he could eat but little, and at Night went ill to Bed, yet slept pretty-well, only both those Nights he complained of a Pain in his right Side; and he had frequent Provocation to Vomit. Oft he found himself cold; yet when he came a little to the Fire, he was too hot; so that his Friends judged it would turn to an Ague.

WEDNESDAY and Thursday his Distemper continued, on Friday finding himself weaker and weaker, he desired his Will might be fairly engrossed, which lay by him written with his own Hand, and withal, he laboured to perswade his Wife to be willing to part with him; Adding, that it would not be long, before they should meet again: Then he put up earnest Prayers for her, and other of his Relations..

ON Friday he sat up all the Day, tho' still finding his Strength to decay; he would often repeat that of the Psalmist: *The Zeal of thy House hath eaten me up.* On Saturday, he had all Day, the Cramp in his left Leg. In the Evening he went to Bed, and in the Apprehension of those about him, slept well that Night.

ABOUT six o' Clock on the LORD's Day Morning, he raised himself up in his Bed, and with a chearful and loud Voice called to his Wife, who lay in a Bed by him, saying; Sweet-heart, I have been this Night conversing with Spirits. And, as in a Rapture, he cried out, *O the Glories that are prepared for the Saints of GOD! The LORD hath been pleased to shew me this Night, the exceeding Weight of Glory which in Heaven is laid up for his Chosen Ones.* Saying further, *That he had studied, and thought that he knew as much what the Glory which in Heaven is, as another Man: But he now saw, that all the Divines on Earth were but Children in the Knowledge of the great Mystery of heavenly Glory, which the LORD that Night had given him a clearer Sight of, than ever formerly he had.*

THEN he desired that his Relations, and the rest of the Family might be called up, that so he might make known unto them that immense Weight of

of Glory, which that Night had been revealed to him. When they were assembled, he did with Vehemency of Spirit, endeavour to discover the same unto them: But he was so swallowed up in the Contemplation thereof, that he could not utter what he desired.

AND so he continued all that Day, and even 'till he died, in very high Raptures, and great Acclamations by Way of Thankfulness to GOD for the LORD *Jesus Christ*, the Fountain of that Glory.

TOWARDS the Evening of the LORD's Day, an honourable Person, together with his Lady, and some other Friends came to visit him, with whom he discoursed about Heaven and the Things of GOD as understandingly, fervently and fluently as if he had enjoyed his best Health: His Understanding and Memory continuing as strong and vigorous as ever: In his Discourse he quoted sundry Texts of Scripture, citing the very Chapter, Verse, and Words, and explaining the Meaning from the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Originals. After this Discourse, which continued for the Space of two Hours, finding himself weary, he betook himself to Bed, all the Company withdrawing into another Chamber. And after an Hour's Repose, he desired that the said honourable Person, with his Lady, and other Friends might be called in again, that he might speak something more to them, and when they, with the rest of the Family were come into his Chamber, he told them that he had but a short Time to live: That he was going to *Jesus Christ*, with Him to partake of the Fulness of Joy, and of those Rivers of Pleasure, which GOD had so lately discovered to Him, and which He had reserved in Heaven for those that love Him, and keep his Commandments. O (said he) "if you had but

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a thorough Sight thereof, it would make you all love the LORD *Jesus Christ* and Holiness; which is the only Way prescribed by GOD to attain to this Happiness." And so he went on to magnify the Riches of Free-Grace, through which alone the Saints come to enjoy that exceeding eternal Weight of Glory, *which neither Eye hath seen, nor Ear heard, nor can it enter into the Heart of Man to conceive.*

He also exhorted them not so much to trouble themselves in getting Assurance of Salvation, as to examine themselves carefully, whether they were in the Way of Sanctification: And for this End, he advised them daily to ask their Souls these two Questions: *What am I? And where am I? What am I?* Am I a new Creature? Am I born again? If so, then I have new Thoughts; new Words; new Company; and a new Conversation: All old Thoughts, Words and Actions will be done away. Secondly, *Where am I?* Am I in the narrow Path that leads to Life, or in that broad Way that leads to Death and Damnation? He told them, that if any there present were still in the broad Way, it had been better that they had never been born. And (said he) "If you will make this your continual Meditation, you cannot miscarry. And if you find yourselves to be in the narrow Way of Sanctification, let GOD alone with the Rest, to give you an Assurance of your future Happiness, which He will certainly do in his own Time."

THEN looking up towards Heaven, he begged of GOD that the Words of a dying Man, might make a deep Impressions upon the Heart of his Hearers; and that as GOD had made him an Instrument of converting many Souls in his Life, so He would bless what he had now spoken.

HE proceeded to other holy Discourses and Instructions, quoting sundry Texts of Scripture for the Proof of what he spake, naming the Chapters, Verses, and Words of the Texts, which he opened, and explained out of the *Originals*, with such Acuteness and Strength, with such Zeal and Fervency of Spirit, that he drew Tears from the Eyes of all that were present.

HE further declared (with Tears trickling down his Cheeks) that he had many a Time before he went to preach, put GOD in Mind of his Promise, and earnestly besought Him to make good that Promise, by giving a Blessing to that Word, which he was then going to deliver: To which his Prayers GOD had often been pleased to give a gracious Answer, and to let him know it by the Conversion of some by those very Sermons.

ONE of his Relations, fearing his Spirits would be spent by his continued Discourse, requested him to repose for a while; to whom he replied with much Earnestness: No, were I sure that this should be my last Night, and the last Sermon that I should preach, I would continue it two Hours longer: Adding, that he was not afraid of Death: And turning his Head backward, he said, "Death is a Coward; he comes behind me: He dares not look me in the Face." And he further said, "The Devil hath often assaulted me in my Life-Time; but GOD stood by me, so that he could never hurt me."

ALL the Day following, he lay in heavenly Contemplations and Raptures, often breaking forth in Praises to GOD for *Jesus Christ*; and he sometimes desired his Wife, to tell him whether he were

were in the Body or out of the Body, for he could not tell.

IN the Afternoon finding Death approach: He wished that his Sons had been present, that they might see what it was to die. He desired also that some Neighbours might be called in, that he might preach his last Sermon to them: And, to this very Time his Spirits, Speech, and Memory continued active and strong.

ABOUT four in the Afternoon, his Wife standing by his Bed-side, asked him how he did? He answered, very weak: Adding, that he was going to *Jesus Christ*; and bad her not to be afraid of Death; with which Words he put forth his Hand, and said, "Take Death by the Hand: Be not afraid; Death is a Coward; he flies from me: They found that his Hands were cold and clammy, whereby they perceived that he grew near his End: And himself not long after, feeling that the Dissolution of his earthly Tabernacle was approaching; lifting up his Eyes cried out: Come LORD *Jesus*: And presently, with a smiling Countenance, he added, art thou come? And so fell asleep.

THERE remain some Things to be spoken, which could not well be reduced to any one Part of this Narrative; so therefore these were reserved to the Close of all, that the Reader may have a View of them altogether: And they may be thus ranked in Order.

1. His great Humility and Meekness.

2. His Diligence in his Calling.

3. His Zeal and Fervour of Spirit.

4. His

4. His Liberality and Bounty.
5. His great Candour, and Ingenuity.
6. His Faith and Patience.
7. His Power in Prayer.

FIRST, To begin with his Humility: All that knew him, will readily acknowledge this to have been very eminent in him; and that, not only in his Words and Garb, and some trivial Actions, which may easily be counterfeited.

BUT in him, Humility was of an higher Strain, and deeper rooted in his Heart. He could condescend to Men of the lowest Rank. He used to magnify the Abilities of others, whilst he thought meanly of his own, and was not offended if others did the like. He could easily bear the Contradictions of others, and stoop to the meanest Offices.

SECONDLY, His Diligence in his Calling was very Exemplary. A hard Student he was all along, and so continued to the last. It is scarce credible, but to those that saw, and knew it; what Number of Books were found in his Library, filled with Transcript out of the Authors which he read over; besides Pieces of Controversies, and Observations of his own. And indeed, there were few Books that he read, but he took Notes out of them, and made Marks in them of what was most considerable. To which if we shall add all his Manuscripts, we cannot but conclude him to have been a most faithful, and painful Labourer in the LORD's Vineyard. His daily Practice declared him to be a Person very careful to redeem Time, and as fearful to lose, or waste it.

As soon as he was up in the Morning, whilst he dressed himself, either his Wife or Servant read to him some Chapters in Course out of the Old and New Testament. When he was dressed, he retired to his Study, where he ordinarily continued 'till he was called down to Prayer and Dinner: After which he took Opportunities of Discourse with Friends and Neighbours. After two or three Hours Intermiſſion he returned to his Study again, where, for the most Part, both in Summer and Winter he continued 'till about Eight o'Clock, seldom eating any Supper.

WHEN in the Evening he was come down, calling his Family together, he read a Chapter in Course, gave the Sense of it, went to Prayer, and so to Bed. Here also may be added, that as it was his Care to be well prepared before he went to preach, so did he strive to get his Heart into a right Frame for Preaching, that from the Heart he might speak to the Hearts of his Hearers: And to obtain Assistance from GOD therein, he used to beg a Blessing upon his Labours. It was his frequent Saying, That he was as circumspect and diligent in studying what he was to deliver, as if he expected no Assistance from *Christ*; yet when he came to preach, disowning his own Endeavours, he cast himself upon *Christ*, as if he had not studied at all. And that GOD many Times suggested such Matter in the Delivery of his Sermons as he had not thought on before, which also he observed GOD did abundantly bless to the Comfort and Edification of his Auditory.

HE would often say, That his Opportunities were his Riches, and he was always careful to improve them; whence it seldom came to pass that he

he preached without making some real Impression upon his Hearers.

Thirdly, His Zeal and Fervour deserve our serious Consideration. It was the Counsel of a holy Divine, "That Christians should take Heed their old Judgments did not abate their youthful Affections:" And certainly there was in him such Warmth of Affections as seldom is seen in so ancient a Man; yet it was managed with such Prudence, that he exercised it, not about light and trivial Matters, but about the greater and more substantial Points of Religion, and that thro' the whole Course of his Life. Whether he preached, prayed, or discoursed about divine Things, all was performed with much Zeal and Warmth of Affections: He was *servent in Spirit, serving the LORD*, Rom. xii. 17. O how glad was he of an Opportunity of Preaching, and if (after the black Day) his Liberty could have been purchased by Money, what would he not have given for it?

HE was very affectionate in Prayer, and yet were his Affections so tempered with Prudence, that tho' upon extraordinary Occasions he could enlarge therein, yet in his Family Prayer he was usually short, that so he might not make religious Duties a Burden to those that joined with him.

HE was conscientiously careful in the Sanctification of the LORD's-Day; not permitting any Discourses in his Presence, but such as were suitable to the Day, and the Duties thereof: And he would reprove such as took Liberty to discourse about their worldly Business upon God's Holy Day.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, His Liberality and Bounty were as eminent as any other of his Virtues. As GOD gave him a large Estate, so He gave him a large Heart, which was a double Mercy. He was rich in good Works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate: Laying up in Store for himself a good Foundation against the Time to come.

Fifthly, To this may be added his Candor and courteous Deportment, which gave a great Lustre to his Bounty.

As his Faith and Patience appeared in the whole Course of his Life, so they eminently shone when he came to die. In the Time of his Sicknes he shewed an humble, holy, and chearful Resignation of himself to the wise and merciful Disposal of GOD, his heavenly Father. Not one repining Word was heard to proceed out of his Mouth: He was dumb and opened not his Mouth, because it was the LORD that did it, Ps. xxxix. 9. There was not so much as an impatient or uncomely Motion seen in him: But being full of Faith and Christian Courage, he feared not Death, but would often say, *O how happy a Thing is it, by Death to be above the Possibility of Sinning.*

HE often declared, that in his younger Days he had been sorely vexed with Satan's Temptations; but at last meeting with a plain, honest Christian, and complaining of his Fears, he first rebuked him, and then instructed him, saying, "You look
" at the Reward without minding your Work, in
" that you desire and expect Assurance, before
" you have well resolved of doing your Duty.
" My Advice therefore is, to mind what GOD
" requires of you in your present Station, and be
" serious and diligent therein, and Assurance will
" come

"come in God's due Time." This Advice, he professed, was of great Use to him all his Life after; so that from that Time forward he was not troubled with such perplexing Thoughts: But lived and died in Peace both with God and Man, *October 22, 1666.*

Lastly, His Power and Prevalency in Prayer was very remarkable.

THE wise Solomon tells us (*Prov. xii. 2.*) *That a good Man obtaineth Favour of the LORD*, that is, he hath what he will of GOD. It is written of *Luther*, *Iste vir potuit a Deo quicquid voluit*: That by his Prayer he could prevail with GOD at his Pleasure: *Melancthon* and *Myconius*, being sick of desperate Diseases, were both recovered by *Luther's* Prayers. *Sozomon* saith of *Apollonius*, That he never asked any Thing of GOD which he obtained not. Blessed is he that hath what he will, and wills Nothing but what he should. The Persons of Saints (saith a reverend Divine) are like secret Pledges of common Quiet, and their Meditations and Prayers are a Shield to the Earth against the Wrath of Heaven. Faithful Prayer (saith another) is able, after a Sort, to alter GOD's Mind, and to transfuse a Dead Palsy into the Hands of Omnipotency; as *Exod. xxxii. 10.* where GOD is said to bespeak his own Freedom, *Let Me alone.*

WE have many Examples in Scripture of the Power and Efficacy of Prayer. *Jacob* would have a Blessing, and by Prayer wrestled and prevailed. The Woman of *Canaan* (*Matt. xv. 23.*) came for a Cure, and a Cure she would have, and she had it at last, with an high Commendation of her Faith. GOD heaps Mercies upon his Suppliants, and blames them for their Modesty in asking:

Hitherto (said He) ye have asked Nothing; that is Nothing to what you might and should. Ask and have, that your Joy may be full, John xvi. 24. Many other Scripture Examples might be produced, but lest any should think that the like are not to be found in our Days, take Notice of these Instances following :

WHEN an Order was sent to Mr. *Winter* from the Parliament, to attend their Commissioners into *Ireland*, his Wife was very unwilling, and some of their near Relations came on Purpose to dissuade him. In this Strait he retired into his Study (as his usual Manner was in like Cases) and there with much Earnestness spread the Matter before GOD, craving his Direction therein. And the LORD was pleased to set it upon his Spirit, that he should go, and be carried in Safety thither, and there become an Instrument of converting many Souls to GOD. When he had declared this to his Wife and Friends, they acquiesced, and so he resolved upon that Journey : And though they took Shipping in the midst of Winter, and went with a Master that was not well acquainted with those Seas, yet they found the Seas calm, and their Passage so speedy, that the Captain of the Ship said, in his whole Life he had never known so calm and speedy a Passage.

NOT long after Mr. *Winter*'s coming into *Ireland*, he went with the Commissioners unto *Kilkenny*, where Col. *Jones*'s Wife fell sick of the Yellow Jaundice, and some other Distempers; her Husband invited certain Ministers, and some other Friends to spend some Hours in Prayer in her Behalf: And Mr. *Winter* was the last Man that prayed; but before he began, he asked her, Whether she had Faith to be healed? She answered,

swered, She thought she had. Then he went to Prayer, and wrestled exceedingly with GOD; and when he had done, he went again to her, and said, That she should live, and not die at that Time: At this Saying of his, his Wife and Sister were much troubled, and told him in private, they would have given much Money rather than that he should have spoken so. But he again told them that she should not die at that Time.

YET she continued very weak for a Month or more, 'till her Doctors gave her up for a dead Woman, whereupon Mr. *Winter's* Wife again blamed him, for his confident Saying, That she must live; to which he smilingly answered, Well, she is not yet dead. At length her Disease so prevailed, that she lost the Use of her Senses, and her Servants that stood weeping about her said, Now she is near Death indeed. The *Saturday* following, as Mr. *Winter* sat at Dinner, a Messenger came to him from Col. *Jones*, to tell him, that if he would see his Wife alive, he must come away presently, for she was now a dying. At this Mrs. *Winter* was much troubled, because of her Husband's former Confidence in promising her Life: But Mr. *Winter* made no great Haste to be gone, saying, That he knew well when GOD answered his Prayers, and when not.

AFTER he had dined he went to the House, where he found the Colonel sitting by her, ready to close her Eyes so soon as the Breath departed out of her Body, for so she had enjoined him in the Time of her Health. She lay speechless, and without the Use of her Senses, not answering, nor moving her Eyes, though her Husband and Mr. *Winter* called unto her, whereupon her Husband judged she had lost her Hearing. Mr. *Winter* re-

quested that he might pray with her; but her Husband refused, saying, She was senseless, and had been a dying all that Morning. Mr. *Winter* urged again that he might pray: "No (said the Colonel) it is to no Purpose; she is a dead Woman." Yet Mr. *Winter* urged the third Time that he might pray, saying, Her Life is yet in her; and so he went to Prayer with much Earnestness and Importunity.

WHEN Prayer was ended, Mr. *Winter* going to her Bedside, she looked upon him, and with a smiling Countenance said, "O, see the Fruit of Prayer! O, see the Fruit of Prayer! Set me up, and give me Something to eat: I am cured, but not by the Art of Doctors: Only fervent Prayers have prevailed with God for me." They asked her, What she could eat? She answered, Anything. They gave her some Bread and Butter, of which she eat pretty heartily. Then did her Husband send for her Doctors; but she bid them not provide any more Physick for her, saying, That she would take none; for she would not dishonour God, nor wrong Prayer so much as to take any more Physick: Nor could she by any Means be persuaded to it.

ON Monday following Mrs. *Winter* hearing that Mrs. *Jones* was walking in her Garden, went to see her, and found her there. So soon as she saw Mrs. *Winter*, she went to meet her, and said, "O, see the Fruit of Prayer!" Mrs. *Winter* blessed God for her Recovery; whereupon she said, "My Doctors would have me take more Physick: But it is God that hath cured me, and He only shall have the Praise of it. I will take Nothing of them; they shall not boast that they have cured me: For God by Prayer hath done it."

“ it. It is Prayer alone that hath done it.” And indeed herein GOD made good that gracious Promise, *James v. 15. The Prayer of Faith shall save the Sick, and the LORD shall raise him up.*

SOME Months after Mr. *Winter* with his Family removed to *Dublin*; and after some Time the aforesaid Mrs. *Jones* fell sick again; whereupon Mr. *Winter* and his Wife, and her Sister went to visit her: When they came she called for Mr. *Winter* to pray with her. A Lady that was present, coming to Mrs. *Winter*'s Sister, said, Do you think this good Woman will recover, or not? She answered, I know not yet; but when my Brother *Winter* hath done Prayer I will tell you more. When Mr. *Winter* had ended his Prayer, she came to her again, and said, What think you now? She answered, She believed that she would not recover, and so said Mrs. *Winter* also. The Reason whereof was, because they observed that in his Prayer he was more earnest in praying for the spiritual and eternal Welfare of her Soul, than for her bodily Health.

WHEN they were returned Home, Mrs. *Winter* asked her Husband what he thought of her? He answered, She will die. And this he said, because when in Prayer he would have begged of GOD to restore her to Health, he could not do it; but could only pray for her eternal Happiness. It is the Observation of a Reverend Divine: “ That when GOD intends not to hear, He lays the Key of Prayer out of the Way, as being loath that such precious Breath as that of Prayer is, should be without full and clear Success.”

AT length Mrs. *Jones* finding herself very weak, sent for Mr. *Winter* to pray with her, and after

she said unto him: "Sir, I fear you love me not so much as formerly. God heard your Prayers for me when I was dying at *Kilkenny*, but now you do not pray so earnestly for my Life as you did then." No (said he) I neither do, nor can do it, though I love you as well as ever: For when I would pray for your Life, my Tongue is turned to pray for your eternal Welfare. Therefore I believe that you are not a Woman for this World. And it pleased God shortly to take her to Himself.

At another Time Mrs. *Winter's* Sister going for *England*, left her only Son with her; after a while the Child fell into an high Fever, and one Morning the Maid, with whom the Child lay, came to her Mistress and told her, she feared the Child had the Plague, for that he had many Spots in his Bosom; and the Plague, at this Time was in *Dublin*. Mrs. *Winter* presently sent for a Doctor, who, when he had seen him, said, he much feared the Child's Life. Hereupon Mrs. *Winter* went to her Husband in his Study, requesting him that he would be earnest with God for the Child's Life. At Noon, when her Husband came down, we asked him, what he thought of the Child? He bad her not trouble herself, for the Child would live: Before the next Day the Child began to amend, and within a few Days was perfectly well.

WHILST they were in *Dublin* Mrs. *Winter's* Sister's Husband, being upon his Occasions in *London*, fell dangerously sick; his Physicians after a Time gave him up for dead. Another of Mrs. *Winter's* Sister's wrote her Word of it; adding, that she believed before that Letter could come to her Hands he would be dead and buried. As soon as they received it, his Wife desired that that Af-

ternoon

ternoon might be set apart to seek GOD; and accordingly some Ministers and Christians were invited to meet together for that End: When the Time was come, Mrs. *Winter* requested her Husband to come away, for the Company were met: He had bid her go before; for he must endeavour to know of the LORD whether he was yet living or no: When some of the Ministers had prayed, Dr. *Winter* came in. They prayed with Submission, that if he were yet in the Land of the Living, the LORD would be pleased to be his Physician. But in the Close of the Day, when Dr. *Winter* came to pray, he spake with Confidence, that he was alive. When Dr. *Winter* was risen from his Knees, he went to his Sister in-Law, and took her by the Hand, saying: "Be of good Comfort, for your Husband is alive, and shall recover, and you shall see him again with Joy." She crying out aloud, said, Ah, Brother, I fear he is dead: Do you think he is alive? "I know (said he) that he is alive," and repeated over his former Words: And accordingly in their next Letters they heard of his Recovery.

THE last Time the Soldiers pulled the Parliament in Pieces, Dr. *Winter* and his Friends in *Dublin* were in great Fears of the Confusions that were like to follow: Whereupon he kept weekly Fasts with his Congregation for a great while together? And one Time as he was praying, in Imitation of *Abraham's* praying for *Sodom*, he used such like Expressions: LORD, wilt Thou also destroy the Righteous with the Wicked? Peradventure there be fifty thousand Righteous within these three Kingdoms: Wilt Thou also destroy, and not spare these Nations for fifty thousand Righteous that are therein? And when he came to the last Number of ten thousand, as he knelt against a Post in the Room, he saw a great shining

shining Light about him, and heard perfectly a Voice, saying; *The Nations shall be spared for ten thousand righteous Persons Sake.*

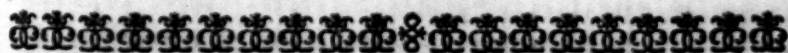
UPON this he turned his Prayer into Praises and Thanksgivings, insomuch as all the Company could not but take Notice of it, tho' none of them heard the Voice but himself only. Dr. *Winter* afterwards told his Wife, that he perceived a Voice might be spoken to one in a Room where many were, and yet none else hear it. And when he lay upon his Death-Bed, his Wife asked him again about it, and he said that he did as certainly and plainly hear it, as he heard her then speak.

AFTER he returned to *England*, he, with his Wife, sojourned for a Month in Dr. *Drake's* House, in which Time his second Daughter fell sick of the Twisting of her Guts. She lay in great Torments from *Monday* 'till *Saturday* Night, and the Doctors had little Hopes of her Life. On *Saturday* in the Evening Dr. *Winter* came in, and meeting her Sister, enquired how she did? Her Sister answered, she was near Death; for that the Doctors having prescribed Something to be given her in a Spoon, her Teeth were so set that her Aunt and she had much ado to open them to put it into her Mouth: But (said she) Sir, what do you think of her? Give me (said he) a Candle that I may go into my Chamber, and anon I will tell you whether she shall live or die. When he came down, she met him at the Foot of the Stairs, and asked him, What he thought of her now? He answered, "Your Sister will live." And so going up into his Chamber, he spake to his Wife, and bid her use all Means for her Recovery; for (said he) "She must not die at this Time." His Wife begged of him not to be so confident, for there
were

were no Hopes of her Recovery ; yet he told her Mother and Aunt, that she should recover. His Wife was much troubled at it, notwithstanding her many Experiences. But the next Day Signs of Recovery began to appear, and within a little Space she was perfectly well.

OTHER Instances of his Power and Prevalency in Prayer might be given ; but these may suffice, as evidently demonstrating, that the LORD our GOD *never saith to the Seed of Jacob, Seek ye my Face in vain.*

End of Dr. Winter's LIFE.

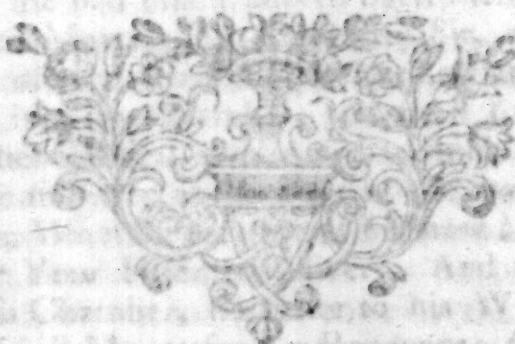


were no hopes of her Recovery; yet he could not
Altogether give up, that she should recover.
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OTHER Instances of his Joy, and Prevalency
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People.

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End of Dr. Winter's Life.





A

SHORT ACCOUNT



Some EMINENT PERSONS

Of the Church of SCOTLAND.

I. Of Mr. HUGH KENNEDY.

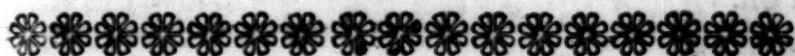
HUGH KENNEDY, though he was no Minister, yet he was an eminent Instrument of promoting the Gospel in the Place where he lived. He was Provost of *Air*. Once when the Merchants Ships which belonged to that Town were at Sea, amongst whom was his Son *John*, he went early one Morning, before Break of Day, to the House of his familiar Friend *John Steward*, desiring him to rise and go with him to a private Room; whereat he was exceedingly

ingly astonished: But whilst he delayed, he said to him, "It is no Time to linger; let us go pray; for my Son, with the rest of our Friends now at Sea, are at this very Time upon the Nick of perishing." And after he had spent some Time in Prayer, he arose chearfully, and said, "Now they are safe." *John Steward*, who had wrote this down, with the Day and Hour, at the Return of the Ship particularly enquired, and found that it exactly answered all Circumstances; and that in that very Hour they were in Appearance past Hope of Safety, and by an extraordinary Providence delivered.

ONE Day, being for many Hours alone in Prayer; he came forth with an unusual Chearfulness; and his Friends enquiring the Reason, he said, "It was no Wonder, for he had that Day obtained Mercy of GOD for himself and all his." Which also came to pass, for there was not one of his Children, but was eminently holy. Whilst he was dying, a Minister said, You have Cause, Sir, to be assured that the Angels are waiting to convey your Souls into *Abraham's Bosom*. He answered, "I am sure thereof; and if the Walls of this House could speak, they could tell how many sweet Days I have had in secret Communion with GOD, and how familiarly He hath dealt with my Soul."

THE Morning before GOD took him, having (as he used) eaten an Egg, he said to his Daughter, "I am yet hungry, bring me another Egg;" but presently after falling into a deep Meditation, after he had mused a While, he said, "Hold, Daughter, hold; my Master calls me." Whereupon he called for a Bible, but finding his Sight gone, he said, "Turn me to the eighth Chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans*, and set my Finger at these Words,

Words, *I am persuaded that neither Death nor Life shall separate me from the Love of God, which is in Christ Jesus, my LORD.* Now (said he) is my Finger upon them?" And when they told him it was, without speaking any more, he said, "Now God be with you, my Children; I have breakfasted with you, and shall sup with my LORD *Jesus Christ* this Night." And so he gave up the Ghost.



II. Of Mr. PATRICK SIMPSON.

MR. PATRICK SIMPSON was some Time Minister at *Cramond*, and afterwards translated to *Sterling*. In his Youth he attained to great Exactness in the Languages, and read many Authors; and being told by some, that they wondered why he spent so much Time in reading Pagan Authors? He answered, "That he purposed to dedicate all these Jewels which he borrowed from the *Egyptians*, towards the building the House of God.

His Life was most exemplary for Piety, and Faithfulness in the Service of his Master, which preached no less in that Part of the Country where he lived, than did his Doctrine. His Wife, a gracious Woman, and the Wife of his Youth, with whom he had lived in great Love, fell sick, which proved her last Sickness. In her Weakness she was sorely assaulted by *Satan*, who suggested to her, That she should be given over into his Hands: And it ended in a visible Distraction,

which for a Time grew upon her: So that, most unlike her former Practice, she would break forth into dreadful and horrid Expressions, and were most violent on a Sabbath Morning, when Mr. *Simpson* was going to preach; whereupon, with a heavy Countenance he stood silent for a Time, and at last kneeled down and prayed: After which, turning to the Company, he said, "He was sure that they who were now Witnesses, should yet see a gracious Change, and that the Devil's Malice against that poor Woman should have a shameful Foil.

HER Distraction continued 'till *Tuesday, August 9*, which Morning, at the very Dawning of it, he went into his Garden, and shut the Door, where, for many Hours he was alone: But a godly Woman, one *Helen Garner*, Wife to one of the Bailiffs of *Stirling*, who had been with his Wife all Night, apprehending that Mr. *Simpson* might much hurt himself by Grief and Fasting, did climb over into the Garden: As she came near the Place where Mr. *Simpson* was, she was terrified with an extraordinary Noise, which made her fall to the Ground; it seemed to her like a mighty Rushing of Multitudes running together, and withal, she heard such a melodious Sound, as made her judge that it was more than human: Whereupon she prayed to God to pardon her Rashness, which her Affection to that Man of God had carried her to. Afterwards, going forwards, she found him lying upon the Ground; she earnestly entreated him to tell her what he had from God: He (when she had promised not to reveal it so long as he lived) said, "O what am I, that the holy ministring Spirit should be sent by the LORD to deliver a Message to me!" And he told her that he had a Vision of Angels, who with an audible Voice gave him

him an Answer from the LORD concerning his Wife's Condition. Returning into his House, he said to all that were present, "Be of good Comfort, for before ten Hours be past, this Brand shall be plucked out of the Fire." After, he prayed by his Wife's Bed-side, and whilst he was mentioning *Jacob's Wrestling in Prayer*, she sat upright in the Bed, and casting by the Curtain, said, "Thou art this Day *Jacob*, who hast wrestled, and also prevailed: And now God hath made good his Word which He spake this Morning to you; for I am plucked out of the Hands of *Satan*, and he shall have no more Power over me." This Interruption made him silent for a Time, but afterwards with great Melting of Heart, he proceeded in Prayer, and magnified the Riches of God's Love towards her. And from that Hour she spake most christianly and comfortably even to her Death. Mr. *Simpson* lived 'till *March*, 1618.



III. Of Mr. ANDREW STEWARD.

THERE was in *Ireland* an Exercise held, whereunto a great Multitude assembled, and while Mr. *Andrew Steward*, Minister of *Dunager*, was feeding his Flock in a large Place (for the Numerousness of the Hearers imposed a Necessity upon him to preach in the Field) an horrid black Cloud hung directly over their Heads, which, to all present, threatened a strange pouring ing down of Rain; yea, some Drops began to fall: But Mr. *Steward*, being much enlarged in his own Spirit, craved their Patience whilst he retired a little

to pray. Whilst he was praying, it was observed, that the Cloud removed about half a Mile off to the Southward, and there fell so mighty a Rain, as caused the Brooks so to swell, that some who came later than the rest, could not get over; but where they were assembled there fell not a Drop, so that he had Opportunity to proceed to the Close, to the great Benefit of the Hearers.

IN the Year 1634, Mr. *Steward* being invited to the Funeral of that Man of God, Mr. *Josiah Welch*, stood silent for a Time at the Grave as a serious Observer of that sad Dispensation: Some that stood by said, God knows who will be next, and when none answered, he said, *I do know*; and so turning away, he went Home to *Dunagor*, and entering into the Church, bolted the Door to him, where he continued about two Hours, and then going Home to his House, fell ill, and was buried that Day Month.

WHEN his Wife came Home, whom he had left with Mr. *Welch's* Widow, she asked him what he had been doing? He answered, "I have been taking my Leave of the Church of *Dunagor*, and I was there calling the Stones and Timber to Witness, that in my short Time I had laboured to be faithful; and that, according to my Light, I have revealed the whole Counsel of God to the People." After he had lain about fourteen Days, an *English* Minister came to visit him, and said, I hope, Sir, you do not now repent that you have been faithful? He answered, "I am sorry for Nothing but that I was too long before I began (he meant his resisting for several Years a Call to the Ministry) and I will tell you a strange Thing: These last seven Years there hath not one Day passed, without Thoughts of Death, and renewed Submission to the

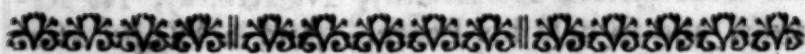
the Will of GOD therein: Yea, this made me neglect my Body, as if it had been Mire in the Street."

THE Night wherein he died, sundry Christians were with him, when, for a long Time he fell into a deep Silence, which ended with heavy Groanings. One desired to know what it was that troubled him; but he refused to tell: Being much urged, he at length said, "I tell you that my Hair stands on End to foresee what is coming upon these Lands:" And being farther pressed, he said, "The bloody Wars of Germany cannot be balanced with the Wars of these three Kingdoms." What say you, Sir? said one of the Company. To whom he answered, "The dead Bodies of many Thousands, who now despise the glorious Gospel, shall lie unburied as Dung upon the Earth." What then (said some) shall become of us and our Posterity? He lifted up his Voice, and said, *He that is for the Sword to the Sword: He that is for Captivity to Captivity: And he that is for Famine to Famine; for GOD shall be avenged upon these Lands.* And when one said, Is there no Remedy? He cried thrice, *No Remedy, No Remedy, No Remedy,* and so held his Peace. And a While after he said, *The broken Covenant of Scotland must be renewed: The Formality of Ireland must be purged: The Prodigality of England removed, and the Sons of Saul must be hung up before the Sun:* Of which last Words none knew the Meaning.

SOME of his own Parish being present, asked what he would say to them; to whom he replied, *Woe to thee, Dunagor, for the Nettles and the long Grass shall be in greater Plenty in thee, than ever were People to hear the Word of GOD.* And three

Years together after the late Rebellion, this was fully accomplished.

SOME asked him, if he would have his Children come to him? He answered, No, he had done with them. And when they mentioned one of his Daughters to him, he desired them to forbear, saying, *She shall see glorious Days after all this.* Then having taken his Wife by the Hand (who had laid-in but four Days, and now crept out of her Bed to give and take a long Farewell) he said, *Thou hast in Faithfulness suffered many Things with me in my Pilgrimage; and now wherewith shall I comfort thee, my Love?* [He left her with four Children, under much Debt] *A Father to the Fatherless, and a Judge to the Widow, is GOD in his holy Habitation. As GOD is GOD, thou shalt never want, nor none of thine: But in all the sad Days that are coming, you shall be a Wonder of Mercy in every Place whither you are carried, and not a Hair of your Heads shall fall to the Ground.* This was fully accomplished, to the Conviction and Edification of many which saw it.



IV. Of Mr. DAVIDSON.

MR. DAVIDSON, Minister of the Gospel at Salt-Preston, had an extraordinary prophetick Spirit, and was eminently zealous and faithful. Whilst he was Minister at Salt-Preston, the building of the Church was much desired by him, which also he much advanced out of his own private Interest: The Lord Newbottle (who

(who had great Authority in that Parish) promising to promote it, from which yet he drew back, so that the Work ceased; whereupon Mr. *Davidson* said to him: "These Walls that were begun to be built shall stand as a Witness against you, that e're long God shall root you out, and your Estate out of this Parish, so that you shall not have a Piece of Land in the same." This shortly after had a visible Accomplishment.

In an Assembly of the Church, Mr. *John Spotswood*, and Mr. *Law* had a Process put in against them for some gross Misdemeanors, where Mr. *Davidson*, finding a Readiness in the Assembly to acquit them by Reason of their good Parts, he did with Earnestness press their Deposition: But being crossed therein, he said, "You will needs spare these two Men, the Time is coming wherein they will trample upon your Necks:" Which had shortly after its Accomplishment.

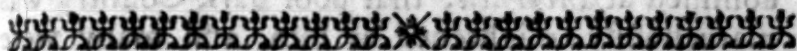
BEING at Dinner with Mr. *Bruce*, who was then in great Favour with the King, in returning Thanks after Meat had this Expression: "LORD, thy Servant here is a great Favourite at Court, and had in much Respect: But he shall e're long be as much persecuted as he is now favoured, and shall go down the Streets when many who now esteem him greatly, will not vouchsafe to give him a Salutation:" Which afterwards came to pass.

AT another Time Mr. *Robert Bruce* and he dining together at the House of a Magistrate at *Edinburgh*, whilst he was giving Thanks, he said, "LORD, this good Man for thy Sake hath Respect to thy Servants; but he little knows that within a short Time he must carry us two to Prison:" Which
Words

Words did much Trouble that honest Magistrate, but afterward it came exactly to pass.

A GENTLEMAN nearly related to a great Family in that Parish where Mr. *Davidson* was Minister, a violent Hater of Piety, did upon that Account beat a poor honest Man that lived there, having not the least Shadow of Provocation; and among many sore Strokes, he gave him one upon the Back, using these Words, *Take this for Mr. Davidson's Sake*: After which, this honest Man was forced for a Time to keep his Bed, complaining most of the Stroke upon his Back. The Sabbath following, in the Close of his Sermons, Mr. *Davidson* speaking about the Oppression of the Godly, did particularly instance in that late Infolence: And then added, "He who hath done this, before a few Days be past, God shall give him such a Stroke, as all the Monarchs in the Earth cannot do;" and the *Saturday* following, as this Gentleman stood before his Door, he was stricken dead with a Thunder-bolt, and had all his Bones broken.

THIS Mr. *Davidson*, not long before his Death, occasionally meeting with Mr. *John Ker*, a young Gentleman who was lately come out of *France*, and had then no Thoughts of entering into the Ministry, and was in a very courtly Dress; Mr. *Davidson* solemnly charged him to put off his Scarlet Cloak, and his gilt Sword: "For you are the Man (said he) who must succeed me in the Ministry at this Place." This much astonished the Gentleman for the present; yet did he obey, and immediately succeeded him.



V. Of Mr. ROBERT BRUCE.

WHILST Mr. Robert Bruce was Minister at *Edinburgh*, he shone as a great Light through the whole Land: The Power and Efficacy of God's Spirit most sensibly accompanying the Word which he preached. He was a Terror to Evil-doers, and the Authority of God did so appear upon him, with such a Majesty in his Countenance, as forced Fear and Reverence from the Greatest of the Land. Yea, his Carriage had such an awful Impression upon King James himself, that before many, he gave this Testimony of him, "That Mr. Bruce was worthy of half his Kingdom."

HE was a Man that had much inward Trouble about his own spiritual Condition, and had been oft tempted by *Satan* to question that fundamental Truth, whether there was a God? This cost him many Days and Nights wrestling before he could clear it up to his own Soul, which occasioned him, when he came into the Pulpit, after a short Silence (which was his usual Way) to say, "I think it is a great Matter to believe that there is a God." It was known to his Friends, what extraordinary Confirmation he had hereof from the LORD; what Familiarity he attained in his secret Converses with God.

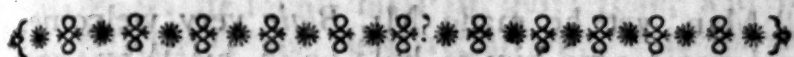
THE great Success of his Ministry at *Edinburgh*, *Inverness*, and other Places whither Providence called

called him, is known to many. Whilst he was confined at *Inverness*, that poor dark Country was marvellously enlightened by him, and many were brought Home to *Christ* by his Ministry, and a Seed was sown, which was not worn out for many Years.

MR. *Bruce* had the Spirit of Discerning in a great Measure, and did foretell many Things: Diverse distracted Persons, and others who were past Hope of Recovery by Sickness, were brought to him, who by his Prayers were fully recovered. He was a great Wrestler with God, and had more than ordinary Familiarity with Him.

A LITTLE before his Death, when through Weakness he kept his Chamber, there was a Meeting of Ministers, who hearing that he was in Town, came to him, and gave him an Account of those Times; Mr. *Bruce* went to Prayer, and therein spread before the LORD the Substance of their Discourse, there was such an extraordinary Motion upon all present, and so sensible a pouring down of the Spirit, that they could hardly contain themselves; yea, there was an universal Motion upon others who were in other Parts of the House, though they knew not the Cause of it: And Mr. *Weems* of *Lothaker*, being occasionally present, at his going away, said, "How strange a Man is this; for he draws down the Spirit of GOD upon us all, by knocking his Fingers upon the Table; which indeed he many Times did."





VI. Of Mr. ROBERT BLAIR.

MR. ROBERT BLAIR in his younger Days out-ran many others in his Studies. When he first began to preach, by a remarkable Providence, he had Mr. *Bruce* to his Hearer; and indeed, he was desirous to have the Judgment of so great a Man, to whom Mr. *Bruce* said, "I found your Sermon very well polished, and digested; but there is one Thing I missed in it, namely, the Spirit of God, that I found not." This made a great Impression upon Mr. *Blair*, and did him much Good all his Life after. For divers Years he was a Regent in the College of *Glasgow*, where he made it his Work to train up those under his Charge in the Study of Godliness, as well as human Learning.

WHEN he was put from the College he went to his Brother Minister at *Dumbarton*, to whom he confessed, that by the Way, he could not but sing for Joy in the Remembrance of God's helping him to be instrumental for the Good of the young Men committed to his Charge. Afterwards he went into *Ireland*, having a Call to *Bangor*, and upon the Sight of Land, his Heart leap'd in him for Joy, so that he was scarce able to bear it. When he came near *Bangor*, he had a strong Impression that the Dean of *Bangor* was sick unto Death, which at first he rejected as an impertinent Suggestion; but going forward, it was with such Power impress'd upon his Spirit, as forced him to take Notice of it. When he came thither he found indeed
that

that the Dean was sick, and tho' he had been an ill Man, yet he made Mr. *Blair* very welcome, and encouraged him to hold on in his Way, and told him that he was to succeed him in that Charge: Yea, he spake in a Strain so different from what was his usual Manner, that a Gentlewoman standing by, said to some others, that an Angel spake out of the Dean's Bed to Mr. *Blair*, thinking that it could not proceed from such a Man.

AFTER some Time Mr. *Blair* with some of his worthy Brethren, were silenced by Bishop *Ecklin*, who in the Church of *Bangor* himself pronounced the Sentence; whereupon Mr. *Blair* rose up publicly in the Congregation, and with great Authority cited the Bishop to appear before the Tribunal of *Christ*, to answer for what he was doing contrary to the Light of his own Conscience; whereupon the Bishop was so astonished that he cried out, "I appeal from the Tribunal of God's Justice to the Throne of his Mercy:" To whom Mr. *Blair* replied, "Sir, your Appeal is rejected: For you know that what you are doing is directly against your Conscience: Which hath made you to bear Witness to us as the Servants of *Jesus Christ*." A few Months after the Bishop fell sick; the Physicians enquiring of him what was the Cause, he could only say, "My Conscience" and died.

Mr. *BLAIR* was by his Brethren sent into *England* to petition the King for their Liberty: And as he was upon the Way, he was taken with an extreme Fit of the Stone, which made him lye upon his Horse's Neck, not being able to sit upright. This much troubled him, being a Hindrance to him in so important a Business: Hereupon he applied himself to God in Prayer, and immedi-

immediately after trying if possibly he could lift up his Back, he found his Pain quite gone, and had perfect Ease; nor did it return upon him for two Years after.

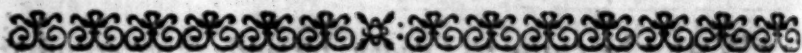
A FEW Days after in the same Journey, his Horse fell very lame, which much troubled him, having no Opportunity to provide himself with another: And hereupon also he made his Addresses to GOD by Prayer, which the LORD graciously inclined his Ear to, so that his Horse was (to his Amazement) perfectly cured, and without halting at all carried him to *London*.

WHEN he came to *London*, he endeavoured what he could, but could not get Access to the King: Yea, some that were his Friends at Court, assured him that he could have no Hope to speed therein, yet he resolved not to give over, but to cast the Business upon the LORD; for whose Service only he was importuning for an open Door. One Day going to *Greenwich*, where the Court then was, and being weary of waiting without Success, he retired into the Park to pray, and after much Wrestling with the LORD, he had so clear a Return that he could not but be assured his Way should be successful; Yet, the Appearance thereof being so unlikely; he, in a humble Manner begged a Sign of the LORD; immediately after the Wind blowing hard, so great a Calm suddenly followed, that not the least Plant did move or stir. Thence he went back to *London*, and within a few Days had his Petition presented to the King, who accepted of it, and in *St. James's Park* called for him, and with his own Hand did not only sign it, but wrote in the Margin these Words, directed to the Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, "Indulge the E-

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“ ducation of these Ministers ; for they are Scotch-
“ men.”

WHILST he was in *England* he had a Discovery concerning the Death of his Wife, and of her lying in such a Bed, and of a Christian Friend being by her, who was his particular Acquaintance: When he came Home he found his Wife well, but a little after she fell sick, and died in the same Bed, with that Friend sitting by her, and with all other particular Circumstances.



VII. Of Mr. JOHN WELSH.

MR. JOHN WELSH, was not long since Minister of *Kircudbright*, and afterwards translated to the Church of *Air*, whom Mr. *Rutherford* calleth, an heavenly, propheticall, and apostolick Man, assuring us, that of each twenty-four Hours, he spent eight in Prayer: Yea, he spent many Days and Nights in Fasting and Prayer for the afflicted Condition of the Church, and for the Sufferings of the reformed Churches abroad. It was his usual Manner in the coldest Winter Nights to rise for Prayer; and oft-times his Wife hath risen to seek him, and found him lying on the Ground weeping, and wrestling with the LORD: And he would be much of the Night in the Church of *Air* upon that Account. One Time especially she found him overcharged with Sorrow, whereupon he told her, That he had that to press him, which she had not, namely, the Charge of three thousand Souls which he must answer for, whilst he knew not how it was with many of them. And

at another Time, when she found him alone, his Spirit was overwhelmed with Anguish and Grief, and when she asked him the Reason of it? He answered, that the Times that were coming upon *Scotland* for the Contempt of the Gospel, would be very heavy, but she should not live to see them.

WHILST he was a Prisoner in *Blackness* he wrote to a Christian Lady, That *Jesus Christ* is a King, and hath a visible Kingdom in the World, even his Church, which is as free to keep its Courts, and to exert Discipline, by Virtue of an intrinsic Power from *Christ*, as any Kingdom on the Earth: And in the Close of his Letter, he foretold that Judgment was coming upon *Scotland*, first by an intestine Sword, and then by the Sword of a Stranger, and that there should be a great Slaughter, both of great Men and mean; which many lived to see.

JOHN STEWARD of *Air*, coming to visit him in Prison, found him in a more then ordinary Way troubled, and enquiring of him what was the Reason of it? He said, *John*, you should not be here, go Home to *Air*; for the Plague of God is broken in upon that Place; and cause *Hugh Kennedy* to convene the People in the Streets and pray together, and the LORD shall hear *Hugh Kennedy*, and remove that Stroke. This at first astonished *John*, and made him question the Truth hereof: But at his Return, he found it in every Thing as this Man of God had foretold.

THE King changing the Sentence of Death into Banishment, he went over into *France*, where in a short Time he learned the French Language. Mr. *Trochrig*, in his Comment upon the *Ephesians*, relates, that being called to preach at *Salmurz*, before

fore one of the most learned Auditories in all *France*, he performed it with such Boldness and Authority, as though he had been before a mean Congregation. *Trachrig* being astonished at it, asked him, Whence he had that Confidence preaching before such a judicious Congregation, in a strange Tongue? To which he answered, in an humble and modest Manner, as one rather dejected then elated, That when he considered his being before the LORD, and that he was delivering his Message, he could not regard the Persons, either of the Great or Mean.

WHILST he was Minister at *St. John de Angeli*, a Protestant Town in *France*, where his Ministry was blessed with great Success, the Civil Wars breaking out, that City was besieged by the *Papish* Party: The Town being ready to be taken, the Enemies having raised a Battery, and made a considerable Breach in the Wall, Mr. *Welsh*, being informed hereof (who had much encouraged the Citizens by telling them that their Enemies should not prevail against them) went himself with the Canonier up to the Walls, and desired him to charge such a Piece of Canon, and shoot; for God would direct that Shot, and cause it to prosper, which accordingly was done, and to the Astonishment of the Spectators, it dismounted the Enemies Canon from that Battery, and the LORD was pleased so to order Things afterwards, that the King agreed with the Citizens upon good Terms.

THE Sabbath following some of that Placc, fearing Mr. *Welch's* Danger, did seriously desire he would not preach that Day, for that the Court was there: But by no Entreaty would he be hindered from the Discharge of his Duty, telling them, That he would adventure to preach God's Word, and trust the LORD with what concerned himself.
He

He had that Day a very great Auditory, both of Friends and others, who came upon the Fame of such a Man's Preaching : But whilst he was in his Sermon, a great Man of the Court was sent with some of the King's own Guard, to bring him presently before the King. Whilst he was entering the Church, with some Difficulty by Reason of the Crowd, Mr. *Welsh* turning himself towards the Door desired the People to make Way for one of the great Peers of *France* : And when he was come near the Pulpit to execute his Commission, Mr. *Welsh*, with great Authority spake to him, and in the Name of his Master *Jesus Christ* charged him, that he should not disturb the Worship of God ; wherewith the Nobleman was so affrighted, that he fell a trembling, yea, was forced to crouch down, and make no farther Disturbance.

THE Sermon being ended, Mr. *Welsh*, with great Submission, went to the King, who was much incensed, and with a frowning Countenance, asked, who he was, and how he durst be so bold as to preach Heresy so near his Person ? To which, with due Reverence bowing himself, he answered, I am, Sir, a Servant, and Minister of *Jesus Christ*, whose Truth I preached this Day, which if your Majesty did rightly know, you would have come to it yourself, and heard it. And for my Doctrine, I did this Day preach,

First, THAT Man by Nature is in a lost Condition ; and that by his own Power he is not able to help himself.

Secondly, THAT there is no Salvation, by our own Merits, but by *Jesus Christ*, and his Merit alone.

A a 3.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, I PREACHED this Day the just Liberties of the Kingdom of *France*; that your Majesty oweth Obedience to *Christ* only, who is Head of the Church: And that the Pope, as he is an Enemy to *Christ* and his Truth, so also to the King, of the Earth, whom he keepeth under Slavery to his usurped Power. The King for a Time, being silent, and astonished, turned to some about him, and said, Surely this is a Man of GOD: After he communed with him, and dismissed him with great Respect.

THE Year following, the Differences continuing between the King and Protestants, that City was again besieged, taken, and in Part plundered, as Mr. *Welsh* did publicly foretell: At which Time the King passed a solemn Order, that none should in the least wrong Mr. *Welsh*, or any Thing that belonged to him under the highest Penalties, and afterwards he gave him a safe Conduct to transport himself into *England*, where he died: King *James* refusing to give him Leave to return into his own Country, though he was earnestly petitioned by his Wife to grant that Favour to her Husband for his Health's Sake. During his Sickness he was so filled and overcome with the Enjoyment of GOD, that he was sometimes over-heard in Prayer, to use these Words, "LORD hold thy Hand; it is enough: Thy Servant is a Clay Vessel, and can hold no more."

WHILST he was Minister at *Air*, there came two Men with Packs of Cloth to the Town's End from a Neighbour Town, in a Time when a Plague was in some Places of the Country, yet the Town whence they came was not at all suspected to be infected. The Centry at the Bridge stopped them 'till the Magistrate came, and though he could not disallow their Pass, yet would not the Magistrate suffer them to come in, 'till he had sent for Mr. *Welsh*. A little after Mr. *Welsh* coming, the Magistrate

gistrate said to him ; Sir, here are Men come from such a Place ; we have heard of no Plague there : Besides, they have a Pass from known Men : What would you advise us to do ? Mr. *Welsh* answered Nothing for the present, but uncovering his Head in the Midst of the Company that follow'd him, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven (yet without speaking) near Half a Quarter of an Hour, at last he said, *Bailly*, cause these Men to be gone ; for if God be in Heaven, the Plague is in these Packs. The Men going away, opened their Packs at *Cumnock*, which so infected the Town, that all the Inhabitants died, not one being left to bury the Dead.

ONE Night, being under an extraordinary Pressure of Spirit to go and pour forth his Soul unto God : He left his Wife in Bed, and going out into a Garden, spent most of the Night in Prayer and Praise : His Wife missing him so long, at length went to seek him, and not finding him in his ordinary Place, she went into other Gardens by such Passages as she knew : At last she heard a Voice, and drawing near she heard him speak these Words with great Fervency, accompanied with a Flood of Tears, "O God ! wilt thou not give me *Scotland* ? O God ! wilt thou not give me *Scotland* ?" She being afraid to interrupt him, went Home, and heard not the Close. At length he came Home, and going to Bed, his Wife mildly reproved him for his Unmercifulness to himself : Then she asked him what it was that he was saying ? For she told him, she heard him : " Well said he, you had better have been in your Bed ; I tell you I have endured a great Fight for *Scotland* this Night, and hardly could I prevail that a Remnant should be reserved : Yet God will be gracious."

AFTERWARDS he arose another Night (as his frequent Manner was) but went not out into the Garden,

Garden, but into another Chamber, where he so laboured and groaned, that his Wife hearing him, went several Times to draw him to Bed: But he stayed his Time, and then returned, His Wife with a modest Expostulation, blamed him for tarrying so long: "Hold thy Peace, said he, it will be well with us: But I shall never preach another Sermon in *Air*." Then falling asleep, before he awaked, a Messenger came who was sent to carry him Prisoner to *Edinburgh Castle*.

WHILST he was Prisoner there, the Lord *Uchiltry* was Governor of the Castle, whose Sister was Mr. *Welsh*'s Mother-in-Law; he caused Mr. *Welsh* to sup with him one Night at his own Table, where also were several other Gentlemen, and among them a *Papish* Youth, Mr. *Welsh* laboured to entertain the Company with edifying Discourse, which all attended to save this young Papist, who with Laughter and Derision sought to silence him. After Supper the Guests sitting still, this Youth stood up at the lower End of the Table, and whilst Mr. *Welsh* proceeded to gracious Discourses, the Youth grew to that Insolency as with his Finger to point at him, and to make wry Mouths at him, whereby he so grieved that holy Man, that on a sudden he was forced to Silence.

THE whole Company, that were much delighted with his Discourses, were silent also: But a While after Mr. *Welsh* brake forth into these Words: Gentlemen, the Spirit of GOD is provoked against us, and I shall entreat you not to be afraid to see what GOD will do amongst you before you rise from the Table; for He will strike some one of you with Death before you go hence. All were astonished, waiting with Fear to see the Issue: And while all Men feared themselves; except this insolent Youth, he fell down dead among them.

ONE Day as Mr. *Welsh* looked out of his Window in the Castle, he saw the Governor, to whom he said, GOD save you, my LORD: The Governor asked him how he did; and wherein he might serve him? In Nothing, said Mr. *Welsh*, except you would carry a Petition to his Majesty for my Liberty to preach the Gospel. I willingly will, said the Governor, therefore send it to me. Nay, said Mr. *Welsh*, I am your Kinsman, and love you so well as to warn you not to undertake it except you resolve to deal truly in delivering it, and in getting me an Answer. I will bear the Blame, said the Governor, if I do it not. So he undertook it; but when he came to the King, finding him in a great Passion upon some other Occasion, he judged it not meet at that Time to present it; and afterwards neglected, and at last, quite forgot it, for which, his Heart smiting him, he durst hardly be seen of Mr. *Welsh* for three Months after. Yet at length, he came to the same Place, where Mr. *Welsh* at first called to him. Mr. *Welsh* asked him how he did, and what was become of his Petition? The Governor being surprized, answered; I delivered it to his Majesty; but he being in a Passion, it seems that it was neglected. Nay, my Lord, said Mr. *Welsh*, you should not lye to GOD and me; I know that you delivered it not, and I am sorry my Lord for your Lot: I warned you not to be false to GOD, and now I tell you, GOD shall take your Estate, and Honours in *Scotland* from you, and give them to your Neighbour. This much troubled the Lord *Uchiltry*; but so it came to pass; for he was forced to quit all, and to give both his Estate and Honours to *James*, the Son of Captain *James*, the second Brother, who was the last of that House.

End of the Lives of some EMINENT PERSONS of the Church of Scotland.

6 JY 64

T H E
L I F E
O F

Mr. *THO. CAWTON*,

Sometime Minister of the Gospel at St.
Bartholomew's, behind the ROYAL EX-
CHANGE, LONDON;

A N D

Late Preacher to the *English* Congregation at
Rotterdam, in HOLLAND.



T H E

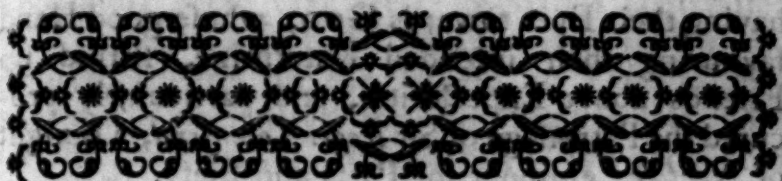
THE
LIFE
OF
MR. THO. CAWTON

Sometimes Minister of
Bristol, &c. &c.
CHANGE, London.



Late Preacher to the English Congregation in
Rotterdam, in Holland.






T H E

L I F E

O F

Mr. *THOMAS CAWTON*,Late Minister of the Gospel at *Rotterdam*,
in *Holland*.


THOMAS CAWTON was born at *Rainham* in *Norfolk*, in the Year 1605, of honest Parents, under whose Tuition he remained 'till he was capable of being improved for higher Designs than those of his Infancy. From a Child he had so a strong Inclination to the Ministry, that Nothing could divert him from following that Employment.

His Parents seeing him endued with so good a Principle, were very solicitous how to bring him

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in Learning, but being much discouraged by the Smallness of their Estate, they were in Suspence, having their Eyes towards GOD, whose good Hand favouring their intended Enterprize, stirred up Friends above Expectation, and particularly procured the Patronage of Sir *Roger Townsend*, a Knight of *Norfolk*, eminent for Parts and Piety.

WHEN he came a little to understand himself and the Use of Learning, he was so unwearied in the Pursuit of it, that to out-strip others, he did constantly rise very early Summer and Winter; insomuch that though he had a great Way to go to School, yet he would be there before his Master was stirring, and had Admittance into his Master's Chamber, where he did every Morning construe a Chapter in the *Greek Testament* at his Bed-side: By this Means he got an exact Skill in the *Greek Text*, insomuch that he could at the first Sight explain Chapter or Verse in the whole Testament; and this he would often say he got by the By, while others got Nothing: Thus industrious he was even then to improve the very Shavings of Time.

HAVING for a While manifested his affectionate Love to Learning, as also given many Demonstrations of his Proficiency, he was judged fit for the University, and was accordingly sent thither, and admitted in *Queen's College* in *Cambridge*.

DURING his Residence in the College, he did most exquisitely perfect and polish his natural Parts (which were very good) by Art and Grace: As he had begun at School, so here he was an excellent Husband of his Time, so frugal that he highly valued the Shreds and odd Ends of it, and would gather up the Fragments of this also, that Nothing might

might be lost: He presently embraced the present Occasion; those that were intimately acquainted with him give him this Character, that he was the greatest Enemy in the World to Delays, and would not only speak for, but himself laid Hold on the Forelock of Opportunity: He accounted more of one Hour present, than of the Hopes of many to come, and was much for the Season for every Study, knowing there was *πολύς χρόνος ἐν τῷ καιρῷ*, much Time in an Opportunity: And that Time might be kept with Bit and Bridle (not from fleeing away, but) from perishing. He was so industrious that he had no Leisure to be idle, but was most glad of Leisure to employ himself; for he esteemed an unemployed Life a Burden to itself, and thought that Man unworthy of the World that never did any Thing in the World but lived and died.

HE was observed in Matters of Learning to aim very high: He would never set himself Bounds, thus far will I go, and no farther; but was aspiring to the highest Pinnacle of Knowledge, never setting himself any Task, but that of Perfection: Yet this Generosity of Mind was veiled with so much Modesty, that his Demeanour seemed a continued Repetition of that Divine Precept, *That no Man should think more highly of himself than he ought to think, but to think soberly*: Sobriety was woven into and twisted with the whole Course of his Studies; it was the Frame he made to the Picture of the Muses: Though he were not so modest, as to let every one get above and before him, yet he was so modest as to prefer every one before himself, and to slight his own Excellency; he was, as *Nazianzen* speaks of *Athanasius*, lotty in Worth, but low in Heart; knowing, that he that is proud of his Virtue, kills himself not with a Sword, but

with a Medicine: He could bear any Thing but his own Commendation; he had learned how to possess Learning, rather than be possessed of it, and that by ballasting his Mind, lest Knowledge should puff him up.

To instance in Particulars: He being naturally of a deep Judgment, made a famous Logician, and would handle an Argument with extraordinary Dexterity: For the Arts and Sciences he was well skilled in them too, especially in those of them that concern a Divine.

He was an incomparable Linguist, for the Oriental Tongues; few in those Times (none almost) of his Standing went beyond him: He took much Delight in the *Chaldee*, *Syriack*, and *Arabick*, and to gain more and more Skill in them, got Acquaintance with the famous *Wheelock*, then *Arabick* Professor: But his chief Endeavours were spent upon the *Hebrew*, in the Study of which (as the most profitable) he quickly conquered the Difficulties of the Tongue, and was Master of it, insomuch that he was a great Help to others: For that was his Manner, when he intended to be excellent at any Thing, he taught others what he himself had learned, thinking it the best Way to get Learning to give Learning: He was even in his Youth apt to teach; and many eminent in God's Church at this Day owe all the *Hebrew* they have to his Instructions.

He learned and understood the *Saxon*, *Higb* and *Low Dutch*, the *Italian*, *Spanish* and *French* Tongues perfectly, and read many Books in them all, after he left the University.

AND

AND it is worth the taking Notice, that he got the Skill he had in Languages most by his own Industry, having little or no Assistance or Encouragement but his Love to Tongues, which put him upon turning every Stone, and using every Means to obtain his End, which Labour of his was crowned with Success, and he without a Master made Master of the Tongues, which to his dying Day he kept as perpetual Servants, subservient to their Mistress Divinity.

As his profound Reasoning shewed the Depth of his Judgment, so his Readiness in Languages, in understanding so many, and that so well as he did, does evince the Strength of his Memory: Judgment and Memory seldom meet together in one and the same Person; but in him they kissed and embraced each other, and dwelt together in Unity, helping one another, and both conspiring to make him thoroughly furnished to every good Word and Work.

BUT that that made his Parts so eminent was his eminent Piety, his holy, strict Conversation: He never thought much of doing or suffering much for GOD: He was a noted Professor both in the Town and College, and went through much Opposition, though but a young Disciple; yet he was truly conformed to his Master in enduring the Contradictions of Sinners: He was an early Champion for Holiness, and could better bear the Reproaches of Men for his Holiness, than the Wrath of GOD for his Unholiness, behaving himself so that none could speak truly and reproachfully of him at the same Time.

HE was naturally inclined to Solitude, and having a thorough Desire separated himself, he in-

termeddled with all Wisdom; he loved to withdraw from the World, giving himself to Meditation and Prayer, thinking he had studied well when he had prayed well: In this Solitude he entertained his Saviour, and by his refreshing Society was more and more in Love with his solitary (as I may say) Society; he could say with *Cyprian*, *Solus non est cui Christi comes est*; he wants no Company that hath *Christ* for his Companion: And indeed though Solitude be to some hateful, to others hurtful, yet he that knows not how to be alone, knows not how to be in Company with Profit: This I know, the less Wisdom a Man has, the more he complains of the Want of Company.

THE Society he conversed with was of those that were painful and pious, such as loved God were his Friends; such as would come together to pray, and confer about Religion, and strengthen one another's Hands against Profaneness and Ungodliness, such were his Delight, and with such he would be very familiar and open-hearted.

MEANTIME the LORD being merciful to him preserved him blameless and spotless in the Midst of a wicked Generation of Scholars, his righteous Soul being vexed for the unlawful Deeds of those amongst which he dwelt. The Stream of Example was never strong enough to make him stir along with it, when a Gale of Custom would carry others with full Sails to the Port of endless and endless Misery. He took up no Employment, followed no Company, but what he had the broad Seal of Heaven to confirm, and what the narrow Way to Heaven did warrant as useful to travel with up the Hill to Happiness.

As

As he was careful of himself, lest he should at any Time fall into bad Company, so he was very desirous to keep others out of it. Hence when any Youths came to the University either from his own Country, or elsewhere, such as he knew, or was informed were well educated, he would be sure to get Acquaintance with them at their first coming, before they were entangled or infected with bad Company, and would bring them into the Society of some pious Scholars of which he himself was; and he was very successful therein: Many had great Cause to bless God for their first Acquaintance with him, for his bringing them to Dr. *Preston's* and Dr. *Sibbs's* Lectures, and some that are yet alive have blessed God for their Acquaintance with him: This his unwearied Diligence was so generally observed in the College, that it grew almost into a Proverb among the profane Scholars, "Such a Youth was poisoned by *Cawton's* Faction;" which nevertheless could not in the least deter him from prosecuting the Work of the LORD, or from abiding and abounding in it.

He remained faithful in this good Employment, as also in following his private Studies in the University, 'till he took his Degree of Master of Arts.

THEN in order to his Study of Divinity, he removed for a Time from the University to a Place called *Ashwell*, twelve Miles from *Cambridge*, to live in the House of that holy Man of God Mr. *Herbert Palmer*, then Minister of that Place, from whom (as he himself would often say) he reaped no small Benefit in his first setting upon the Study of Divinity: He followed his Business closely, and with much Delight; and which is most and best, he studied divine Truths with a divine Heart; and indeed

indeed they are divine Affections and a divine Conversation which make the Divine. Having grafted his Divinity-knowledge upon a divine Heart, and watered it with his Tears in his frequent and fervent Addresses to the Fountain of saving Wisdom, GOD speedily gave an Increase; so that he in that Place began his Ministry, sometimes assisting Mr. *Palmer* in Preaching, always exercising himself unto Godliness, giving Attendance to Reading, to Exhortation, and to Doctrine; not neglecting, but stirring up the Gift of GOD that was in him, and in studying to approve himself to GOD *a Workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the Word of Truth.*

AFTER he had thus prepared himself for the Ministry, though he were fit, yet he apprehended it not so safe to enter upon a Pastoral Charge, for his singular Modesty made him suspect his own Abilities: Wherefore he still continued Assistant to Mr. *Palmer*, 'till at length he was called to live in the House of Sir *William Armin*, of *Orton*, in *Huntingdonshire*. While he was there he was well beloved both in the Family and Country, for his Abilities, Faithfulness, and Plain-dealing with that Family, from the Highest to the Lowest: A Papist could say, "That few rich Mens Confessors should be saved; that is, that few great Mens Chaplains should go to Heaven. because they were so apt to flatter their Masters:" But he could neither smother Faults, nor smooth them over in the Greatest; but would so sweetly reprove and admonish all Sorts according to their Qualities, that though he were so honest as to be plain, yet he was so discreet as to be pleasing in his Reprehensions: This his Faithfulness, joined with a grave Familiarity, gained him the Affections of All.

HE was ever taking Occasion to do Good in that Family; more especially in his sound and plain Exposition of Scripture, in his profitable and clear Way of catechising and building them up in their most holy Faith: And in his Family and private Prayers with and for them: Thus he spent and was spent for GOD; laying himself out for his LORD and Master, and imitating Him in his Readiness to instruct the meanest and lowest Capacities, suiting himself to them, and becoming all Things to all, that he might win some; by which Means, backed with a serious godly Conversation, he so effectually wrought upon that Family, that many have Cause to be thankful they ever were of that Family, for his Sake.

HE often preached for the Ministers round about him in that Country, which Province he so ~~zealously~~, ~~piously~~, and learnedly performed, that he generally gained the Hearts of all the Godly in that Country, especially of the Ministers; witness that large Testimonial given him under the Hands of the chief Ministers in that Country at his Departure; in which they much bewail their great Loss in parting with him. He was with Sir *William Armin* four Years, painfully following his private Studies, family Duties, and publick preaching: And now he was perswaded to venture into the World, and to serve GOD more publickly in his Church, to which, by the Advice of some able Divines, he was perswaded, resolving that when GOD should make Way for him, he would cheerfully embrace the Offer of a Living.

ABOUT this Time, Sir *Roger Townsend* being sick unto Death, sent for him, but he could not come, (tho' he made all possible Haste) soon enough to see him living: Yet Sir *Roger* had not forgot him,

him, for juſt before his Death, ſealed a Preſentation of him to a Living in *Effex* called *Wivenho* not far from *Colcheſter*, being then void.

HE found the Town notorious for all Manner of Wickedneſs, Drunkenneſs, and Swearing abounded among them, but eſpecially Sabbath-breaking. It was their common Practice, (it being a Sea Town) to bring up their Fiſh and ſell it on the LORD's Day, almoſt at the Church Doors.

HE was Inſtant in Seaſon and out of Seaſon, preaching againſt that Sin, reproving them with Zeal, Meekneſs and Compaſſion; perſuading them not to go to Sea on *Saturday*, which they moſtly did in Regard of a Market near by, kept on *Monday*.

BUT notwithstanding his publick preaching, and private admoniſhing, he found it a very difficult Work to bring them off from that ſinful Practice. Yet he gave not over, he was not ſhort breathed in the Work of the LORD; but ſtill was importunate with them to look to Eternity, and proceeded to ſharp Rebukes, plainly ſtating their Caſe here, and their Caſe hereafter. Many of his Pariſh would ſend him Fiſh in the Evening of the LORD's Day, but he never would receive any. He would not be bribed to ſtop his Mouth, but more vehemently declaimed againſt their Sin, and gave them no Reſt, 'till there was ſuch a Reformation wrought in the Place, as cauſed the Admiration of all who knew that People.

THUS it pleaſed GOD to give a Bleſſing to his unweari'd Labours in a plentiful Harveſt of Converts, many ſeeing the Evil of their Sins, were ſavingly wrought upon, and given him as the Seals of the Miniſtry:

Ministry: Others were restrained to an Astonishment: The Power of Godliness did so shine in his Doctrine and Life, that it had a commanding Authority over the Consciencies of those with whom he conversed.

No Man was ever more beloved of his People than he was; all Sorts Rich and Poor, did manifest a great deal of Respect and Affection to him: The very Children were so taken with his winning Way of catechising them, that they loved him and their Catechism the better for it: A great many of them would every Sabbath Day go together to meet him between his House and the Church, shewing their Readiness to be catechised by him. Thus he that at first was counted so severe, was esteemed worthy of all Love and Honour, and that not only among the Good, but the Bad; such a Majesty there is in Grace, and such Amiableness in Holiness.

THIS their Love was not ill bestowed, there was none of it lost, there being an ardent Love in his Breast to them again; in so much that he would often say *Wivenho* was his first Love. All the profits of his Living for three Years together, (being about an hundred Pounds *per Annum*) he laid out upon the Parsonage House, which was old, and ready to drop down: He built it with Brick from the ground, a very good House, with Orchards of his own planting.

HAVING finished the House, and enjoying some Content in seeing his spiritual Children walking in the Truth, GOD inclined his Heart to Marriage (which was after the thirtieth Year of his Life): He pitched upon Mrs. *Elizabeth Jenkin*, Daughter to the Reverend Mr. *William Jenkin* a renowned Preacher

Preacher in *Sudbury*, and Grand-child to the famous Mr. *Richard Rogers* of *Wethersfield*: He preferred the Stock she came of, her religious Education, and eminent Piety, before a great Portion which he might have had with others.

BEING married, he returned again to his Charge of Souls in *Wivenho*, where he went on in his Ministerial Function with much Delight, and Diligence: He preached with a great deal of Vigour and Life, and his Life was a continued Commentary on his Sermons: He went up and down doing Good, and did not think all his Work was to be done in the Pulpit, but discharged his Trust with much Fidelity; visiting the Sick, admonishing the Wicked, strengthening the Weak, quickening the Strong, and counselling All.

THUS this Man of GOD continued among them for seven Years, during which Time he was very sickly, and not likely to live long, being naturally of an infirm Constitution; the Badness of the Air at *Wivenho* did not a little add to his Distempers. At the End of the seventh Year of his Abode in *Wivenho*, he had a very great Fit of Sickness, in so much that his Physicians and Friends did even despair of his Recovery: But it pleased the great Physician, as He had built the Cottage of his Body, so to shoar up the Building, and he was in some Measure restored to Health: Whereupon the Advice of his Physicians was, he should change the Air, and the more because he constantly was troubled with an Ague twice a Year. *London* was the Place which was thought might best agree with his thin Body: A great many Arguments were used to persuade him to leave *Wivenho*, but none could prevail but that of Necessity, by Reason of the intire Love he bore to his People, and the great Blessing

he

he saw God gave to his Ministry. Necessity urging him more and more to look after his Health; he was at length brought to hearken after a Place to serve God's Church in at *London*: And his Intentions being made known, he was quickly called to the Parish of *St. Bartholomew's* behind the Royal Exchange: The main Instrument of his Settlement in that Living was Sir *Harbottle Grimstone* who at that Time dwelt in the same Parish, and was his exceeding good Friend. In *London* it pleased God he had his Health far better than at *Wivenhoe*.

His Health did not a little encourage him to his former Painfulness in the Work of the Ministry, in which he now laboured more abundantly than ever, he was more careful of himself than ever, knowing he had more Eyes observing him, and that the Sins of Teachers were the Teachers of Sins: He was well acquainted with the Meaning of the Ceremony, *Lev. viii 24.* where *Moses* put the Blood on the Lap of the Priests right Ear, on the Thumb of the right Hand, and on the great Toe of their right Foot; Ministers must hear, work, and walk right: And therefore he daily went out and in before his People, as an Ensamble to the Flock: The very Profane of the Parish would say, they believed Mr. *Cawton* did really believe what he preached, when they were ready to snarl at others, and say of them (as one said of vicious Ministers) that when they are in the Pulpit it is Pity they should ever come out.

IN the Year 1648. the *February* after King *Charles* the First was inhumanly beheaded; he was desired by the Mayor of the City to preach before him and his Brethren the Aldermen of *London* at *Mercers Chappel* on the 25th of that Month; which he undertook, and accordingly performed.

FOR

FOR that Time he escaped the Hands of unreasonable Men, or rather the Paws of roaring Lions; but not long after having a Fast at his own Church, there was a Warrant procured by some malicious Soldiers, that had given Information of what they had heard at *Mercers Chappel*, (stiling his Preaching there seditious) summoning him to appear before the Council of State: When he had concluded the Fast, the Warrant was presented to him in the very Church, so greedy were they of their Prey. It ran thus:

These are to will and require you forthwith upon sight hereof to make speedy Repair into any such Place where you shall understand the Person of Mr. Thomas Cawton to be, who preached before the Lord Mayor Yesterday, and him you are to apprehend and bring in safe Custody before the Council of State for seditious Preaching, hereof you are not to fail, and for so doing this shall be your sufficient Warrant. Given at Derby House, the twenty-sixth Day of February 1648.

Signed in the Name and by the
Order of the Council of State
appointed by the Authority
of Parliament.

Arthur Heslridge, President.

To Rowland Hawcard and
Richard Freeman, Messen-
gers attending the Council
of State, and to all the rest
of the Messengers attending
the said Council.

WHEN

WHEN he had looked on it, he told them (without any Alteration in Countenance) he would go along with them, only desired them to go with him to his House, that he might take something to refresh himself, having fasted all the Day: They were followed with Multitudes of People, which thronged about the House to see him go with the Soldiers: Having refreshed himself and prayed, he sent for a Coach, and taking a Friend or two with him, went to the Council of State, and tho' the Warrant was only for seditious Preaching, yet when he came before them they had Nothing to lay to his Charge but these Words in his Prayer, for our *Legal Sovereign* and the *Royal Family*. He told them he came to answer for a seditious Sermon, not for his Prayer, according to their Warrant; but they satisfied him no other Way, than by telling him he had proclaimed the King, and that was high Treason according to an Act of their own making.

THEY ordered that he should be kept in Custody that Night. The next Day, he was again brought before them, and asked whether he was not sorry for what he had said, he replied he had done Nothing but what did become a Minister of the Gospel, and more they could not wring from him by all their Menaces: Wherefore they agreed to send him to the Gate-House in *Westminster*, and immediately drew up a Commitment.

HEREUPON he was carried to the Gatehouse: During the Time he was there, his Confinement did not in the least abate his Confidence, which had great Reward, one Affliction had fitted him for another. Yet many Temptations he had to spare himself, as a sorrowful Wife big with Child, six small Children to provide for, a good Living in

Danger of being lost, but he denied them all, that he might deny God Nothing. He spent almost Half a Year in Prison so exemplarily that his Life seemed to those that came to him no less than a Miracle, it was a Heaven on Earth (nay Heaven in a Prison) to be in his Company. It will be worth my Pains and thy Patience to take a View of those Graces that did shine most in his Sufferings.

I. His Sincerity, was the Corner-stone of all his other Graces: He gave so many evident Demonstrations of this, that it was as visible as if he had had a Casement in his Breast opened for every one to gaze into his Heart; *he that ran might read* that Truth in the inward Parts, it was written in so legible a Character in his outward Practice. A Reverend Minister of London lately deceased, said on his Death-bed, "Mr. Gawton's Crown was his Sincerity:" indeed he walked in a plain Path, and made streight Steps in that plain Path: He abhorred crooked Ways: He had his Loins girt about with Truth, and his Heart armed as well as adorned with Uprightness: Sincerity was an Ingredient in every one of his Actions and Sufferings, and the chief Cordial that comforted his Spirits, and kept them from drooping: His Conscience bore Witness that his Sufferings were purely for God and his Cause, and that kept him from fainting in his Work. He would speak much against half Christians, that served God with a secret Reserve. He could serve God for Nought, and thought his Sincerity was Nought that could not serve God for Nought. He was so far from having any Design of his own in his Suffering, that he was of Nazianzens excellent Temper, to thank God he had any Thing to lose for Christ: In a Word, *his rejoicing was this, the Testimony of his Conscience*

Conscience, that in Simplicity and godly Sincerity, not with fleshly Wisdom, but by the Grace of GOD he had his Conversation in the World.

2. HE acted Faith to the uttermost, and GOD did try the Strength of his Faith, as well as the Truth of it, and found him a faithful Servant, that could depend on the bare Word of GOD, and think that Security enough: He would say, they that will not believe unless they see a Reason, tacitly imply that GOD does not speak Truth unless He prove it, or at least that their Faith is more in Reason than in GOD. He could confute an Eye of Sense by an Eye of Faith, and trust Providence where he could not trace it. Indeed it were Nothing to be a Believer if every Thing were seen here, but to put a holy Confidence in that unseen Power that does so mightily support us, that is to believe. He promised himself but little from the Creature, and so was never much deceived by it. He could ask himself that Question, and answer it with the Advice of the wise Hebrew. *Why shouldst thou beg of a Beggar? Beg of GOD: Are not all Things in the Hand of GOD?* He knew the World could not give that which it had not, and therefore would not be a Friend to that which was never true to any that trusted it. He was one that thought he could not expect too much from GOD, nor too little from Man: It was a Note of his own, "That *Christ* is more jealous of our Faith than of our Love, for He will let us believe in Nothing but Himself, though He will let us love Something besides Him, so it be in Subordination to Him." He was a second *Gamzu*, whose Speech was, what ever beset him: "Also this shall be for Good."

HE believed that a good GOD made Evils good to Believers, in making good his Promise, that *all Things should work together for Good to them that love GOD*. By Faith this Man of GOD cheerfully endured Imprisonment. By Faith he left his Wife and Children, and Friends, and Living, and all; (as shall be related in its Place) forsook the Land of his Nativity, not fearing the Wrath of the Usurper. By Faith he sojourned in a strange Country, he staggered not at the Promise of GOD through Unbelief, but was strong in Faith giving Glory to GOD, and would often say, "None but Believers make GOD to be GOD."

3. He was a Pattern of Self-denial, he durst not look after great Matters in the World, either for himself or Children, but would often say to his dear Wife, "I would have thee to rejoice more at a little Grace in thy Children's Hearts, than if I had Thousands to leave them. Self-denial (it was one of his Speeches) is in many Mens Mouths, but hardly to be found in any Mans Practice." It is a rare Thing to see Self-denial take Place of Self-love; yet he could say, he loves GOD but little that loves any Thing with GOD which he does not love for GOD. He esteemed all the Greatness of the World unable to make him great, otherwise than by his Contempt of it. He would often say, "I observe some Professors give a great Deal of Scope to the Flesh, which they of all Men should not do, but should tie up their Affections shorter, and if GOD be GOD, live as those that believe it." It was (as one observes) *Erasmus* his Speech, that since Men could not bring the World to Christianity, they have brought Christianity to the World. Those Precepts that have been too strict to give us Liberty
to

to follow the World's Vanity, we have found vain Distinctions and Expositions for to make them signify no more than we practice. For his own particular, he was one that could not look for much Elbow-room in the Way that leads to Heaven. He could strip himself of all his Abilities and Enjoyments, and lay himself and them at the Foot of his Saviour: He was so much above himself, that all Things were below him: He thought he was never perfectly himself, 'till he had put off himself, his Interest, his Judgment, his Will, his Affections, his Relation; his all went at a Word from *Christ*, he denied himself, and denied all.

4. His Patience was singular, which was shewn not only in bearing but in willing bearing any Burden laid on his Shoulders: To bear is the Patience of Necessity, to love to bear is the Patience of Virtue: He was not so unhappy in his Afflictions, as he was happy in his Patience. When at any Time he was told of his Patience, he would reply, "I thank God I never am so much impatient as to see Religion abused to base and private Ends." All the while he was in Prison, and afterwards in all the Tribulations he went through he never charged God foolishly, not discovering the least Discontent, but when his Visitants wished his Release, he would say, "He that believeth makes no Haste, and, in our Afflictions we should neither faint nor fret." He fainted not by Despair, knowing that God was All-sufficient, he fretted not by Passion, knowing that God's Cause might often need his Patience, never his Passion. He was ever contented with a little of the Creature; but when God called him to it he cared not for any Thing of it, thinking those Wants well supplied that were supplied with Contentedness.

FOR

5. FOR Resolution, and Execution of his Resolutions none went ever beyond him, he was almost to a Proverb called, *The Resolved Man*: He chose with *Athanasius* rather to lose his whole See than one Syllable of Truth; and was observed by many to act more according to the Willingness of his Spirit, than according to the Strength of his Body: He would say, "I am confident GOD will have me to do as well as say." But GOD had steeled his Breast with undaunted Fortitude, and through the Power of his Might he could defy every Thing below GOD; the Joy of the LORD was his Strength. His Christian Generosity and Magnanimity fitted him for any Encounter, and put him upon something more than other Christians could do: Come of it what would his Heart was fixed and resolved for high and noble Exploits: He was (as *Nazianzen* speaks of *Athanasius*) both *Magnes* and *Adamas*, a Loadstone in his sweet gentle drawing Nature, and yet an Adamant in his constant, resolute, unbroken, invincible Carriage, he was a Wall of Brass nothing could enter tho' every Thing assaulted: He was of an heroick Spirit, as bold as a Lion, as a good Soldier enduring Hardship for *Christ* without any hard Thoughts of his Master, nay thinking light of his Sufferings, knowing that it was not the Hardness of Affliction so much as the Tenderness and Softness of our Nature that makes us fear Suffering.

LASTLY, he persevered in Well-doing, he was not for GOD when the Fit took him, but went on in an even Temper, and kept his Pace: He was jealous of his own Heart, and would say, "*Satan* may take Occasion, because I have done Something more for GOD than others, to make me secure, which is the Way to fall." Which Consideration

sideration made him so suspect himself, that with all Diligence he scanned every Passage of his Life, and as he had begun well so he laboured to end well: When he saw any good Men miscarry he would say, "If God should leave me to do so, my Life would be a Burden to me:" And indeed he was so tender of God's Glory, that he would rather have burnt at a Stake, than have been a Shame to, or ashamed of his Profession: He was *faithful to Death*, and said often, "That Perseverance would set on the *Crown of Life*," which in Trouble and Persecution he had laboured for.

THESE GRACES were his Fellow-Prisoners which welcomed all his Visitants, besides the Prayers which were made by him, and with him without ceasing, which were the Messengers he sent abroad when he could not go forth himself.

In the Midst of the Tears, and sorrowful Sighs of his Relations, and hundreds of God's People looking for Nothing but his sudden Execution, it pleased God to create him a Deliverance, the Occasion whereof was a Victory the Parliament had obtained in *Ireland*; whereupon it was moved in the House, that some Acts of Grace might be done in Testimony of their Thankfulness, and it was resolved that some Prisoners should be set at Liberty. Among others, some moved that Mr. Cawton might have his Freedom, and by their Votes carried it beyond all Expectation.

THE Joy that was among all that knew him is unexpressible, that which himself most rejoiced at was that God had delivered him, and not he himself, that he had kept a good Conscience while he was in Prison, and that he kept the same now released; that he was not only free from his Confinement,

ment, but also free to declare to the World that he was of the same Mind he was before, and that a Prison and Death were but poor Arguments with him to deter him from his Duty.

FOR some short Time he enjoyed Respite, in which being returned to his Parish, he followed his ministerial Function with his wonted Painfulness and Alacrity; not omitting to declaim against the Sins of the Times, nor ceasing to pray for our dread Sovereign.

ABOUT which Time there was a Plot, as they called it, discovered, the Design of which was to send a Sum of Money into *Scotland* to Major General *Maffie* in the King's Service: Sundry Ministers were hereupon clapt up in the Tower, and Mr. *Cawton* being conscious to the Design, and a Helper by his own Contribution, Rumours were spread abroad that he had abused the Parliaments Mercy, and should be sent for speedily: This made him take Advice of his Friends what to do, he was counselled to keep himself secret in the Country 'till it were seen what the Parliament intended, which he did, and was hid in the House of Mr. *Whitaker* at Horn-Church in *Essex*: No sooner was he departed, but there came a Warrant to fetch him away.

HE continued for some Time at Mr. *Whitaker's*, and spent it most in Prayer; every Week one Day was set apart for it: And indeed his Case was so full of Labyrinths, that he knew not what to do, only his Eyes were towards God to extricate him, and to lead him in a plain Path because of his Enemies. It was thought dangerous to lie long hid for Fear of his being discovered, and therefore having asked Counsell of the LORD, and his judicious

cious Friends, they agreed he should be conveyed away into *Holland*, in which Voyage Mr. *Naiton* being much threatned for the same Crime, was his Companion and Fellow-Sufferer.

A LITTLE before they set upon their Voyage, he most solemnly takes his Leave of his dear Wife in two Letters, sent speedily one after another, which because they shew his Faith, Patience and Resolution in Suffering, I think it will not be amiss to insert.

THE first was this,

Dear Heart,

I Am joyful that GOD hath assisted thee in the Midst of thy Sorrows and Sufferings, so that thou art enabled to bear up and to encourage thyself in GOD, and look upon his Hand, as the-Work, of a Father towards his Child. I do not fear but GOD will be thy Husband in my Absence, and the Father of my fatherless Children; let them be taught the Fear of the LORD, and then they shall not want any good Thing, and then He that leaves not His, will be their Portion and GOD All-sufficient. I shall endeavour to lay up a Stock of Prayers in Heaven for them; I hope I shall pray and not faint, both for thee and them, the LORD increase our Faith, and then be it unto us according to GOD's Promises and our Faith. The Wicked have their Portion in this Life, we in another; rejoice more to see Grace in thy Childrens Hearts, than if thou hadst Thousands to give them. Know that our GOD is the GOD of our Seed; and remember what the Man of GOD said, I never saw the Righteous forsaken, nor his Seed begging Bread. Train up your Children in their Catechism, and in frequent reading of the Scriptures, let them know the Scriptures from their Infancy, and they will make them wise unto Salvation,

tion, let me and them enjoy thy Prayers, and the fervent Prayers of all our sincere Friends: Whatever is laid aside let not the Work of Prayer be forgotten. Mind my Friends of my Condition, that they may beg a Way of the LORD for me; and that I may be counselled from Heaven how to employ myself, and that I may not be wholly laid aside as useless: And that if GOD will give me my Life this Time also, I may lay it out more than ever for his Glory; and that GOD would keep me from the Snares of the Place where He may dispose of me, I have lost much Time and now would fain redeem some of it, if GOD will give an Opportunity, when GOD has brought me to a Place of Rest, I shall, I hope, not loiter in my Studies as I have done. If I have an Opportunity my Friends of the Ministry and others shall hear from me. The LORD help us to keep the Word of his Patience, that He may keep us in the Hour of Temptation. Whatsoever my Brethren can lawfully do, I desire (if it may advantage me for my true and safe Liberty) that I may not be left out. Remember me to all our Friends that love the LORD Jesus Christ in Sincerity. Improve thine Interest for me in Heaven; that as the Church had two Wings of a great Eagle given her, that she might fly from the Dragon into the Wilderness, so GOD would make me a Member of that Church and give me the Benefit of those Wings. What shall I say more to thee, the LORD bless thee, the Peace of GOD that passeth Understanding guard thy Heart, the Joys of the Holy Ghost that are unspeakable fill thy Soul: I wish thy Perfection. Thou art mine and I am thine; the great Sea shall not quench our Love, the Blessings of Heaven and Earth be upon thee. Farewell, farewell in the LORD, the LORD in his good Time bring us together again. Adieu in Christ.

Thine thro' Christ really, cordially a sympathizing Husband.

THE other Letter written upon the Receipt of a Letter from his Wife, in which she testified her Willingness to submit to GOD and to follow him wherever GOD should place him, was this.

DEAR HEART,

I Have read thy sweet and gracious Letter with Tears, and great Joy: The LORD make Way for our happy Meeting; at the Throne of Grace we shall meet I hope every Day. I know GOD will appear for thee and me and stir us up Friends. Let us labour to act in Faith, and say daily LORD increase our Faith. It is a very great Mercy that the LORD was pleased to deliver me this Time, as I hope he will. I grieve at the very Heart to hear what ——— have done not only to accuse themselves but to betray the Lives of their Brethren; yet I will not boast, I do not know what my vile Heart might have done, I will rather judge myself, I know my own great Unbelief and base Fear, the LORD help me against them. I do not fear but that Christ will be thy Husband, and make up all in my Absence. If GOD make my Way plain before me I shall look upon it (as Things now stand) as the greatest Mercy ever beset me in the Matter of Deliverance, and that if He give me my Life this second Time, I hope I shall improve it better for his Glory than ever I have done. I see I could not be without this Trial, and yet I think I was not fit for the greatest of this Affliction, and therefore I hope GOD will lay no more upon me than I am well able to bear, and will make a Way to escape. I hope that I shall at last learn to live to that which I have preached unto others. I grieve for my dear Friends in the Parish that will be left as Sheep without a Shepherd, but GOD will provide for them; remember my dear Affection to them all, they shall have my Prayers; and I hope I shall have theirs. I hope GOD will make Way for the Employment of that poor Talent He hath given me, if not in my native Country, yet some other where.

I have been unprofitable, and therefore GOD may lay me aside, but I hope He will still make Use of me. But, sweet Soul, how shall I leave thee and my little ones behind me? Yet we shall only in Body and Place be separated, not in Mind and Affection. For Directions I know not what to give thee, only be thankful, if GOD hath left this Back-door for thy Husband, and hath not shut him up in the Tower, from whence no Redemption but upon sad Terms, which would have been worse than Death. Remember what I preached, troubled on every Side, yet not distressed: GOD hath troubled thee and me on every Side, yet hitherto we never were so distressed as that there was not some Way to escape.

My Heart cannot express its Love to thee, much less my Pen; be assured I shall be the same I ever was; when GOD shall bring us together, it will be a Resurrection from the Dead: What shall I say? I shall now leave thee, but not lose thee; and when I leave thee, thou hast one that will never leave thee nor forsake thee; my Heart will be with thee, wheresoever my Body shall be. Speak to all my dear Friends, that they would pray for me more than ever, that I may not fall into the Hands of unreasonable Men, and that GOD would make my Way plain before me, and that He, who is the GOD of the Sea and dry Land, would bring me to my desired Haven. What can I say more unto thee? but the LORD bless thee, and make his Face to shine upon thee; the LORD fill thy Heart with Joy and Gladness by believing. Be of good Cheer, my sweet Soul, it is better thy Husband should be taken from thee, than not be. Learn to walk without such a poor Arm of Flesh: Remember how long thou hast enjoyed me beyond Expectation.

My serious Blessing to my poor Babes; I shall pray for all of them. Farewell, my dearly beloved in the

LORD,

LORD, farewell. *The Grace of our LORD Jesus Christ be with thee, Amen, Amen.*

Thy sincere, cordial, and truly
loving Husband.

PRESENTLY after the writing of these Letters, he made Preparation for his Voyage, and secretly departed by Ship to *Rotterdam*, from whence he and Mr. *Nalton* went to the University of *Leyden*, intending to sit down a While there, 'till the Storm in *England* was blown over: Yet GOD's Providence so ordered it, that tho' they came under a Disguise, yet they were quickly known, and speedily Messengers were sent from the *English* Congregation at *Rotterdam* to find them out, and bring them thither, the Place being at that Time destitute of a Minister. The *English* Messengers found them at *Leyden*, and saluted them with the Speech of the *Macedonian* Man, *Come and help us*. They did not a little wonder how they should be known to be Ministers, seeing they kept themselves so private, and were not at all to be discerned by their Garb. But turning their Admiration into Adoration, they praised GOD for the Door He had opened to let them into their former Employment, and went along with the Messengers to *Rotterdam*, where they were joyfully entertained by the *English*, particularly by Mr. *Harris* and Mr. *Shepherd*, and were received into Mr. *Shepherd's* House. The Sabbath-day came wherein Mr. *Cawton* preached in the Forenoon, and Mr. *Nalton* in the Afternoon, with general Approbation: Thus these Prophets were not without Honour save in their own Country.

MR.

MR. *Cawton's* Wife followed her Husband with some of her Children, and safely came to him at *Rotterdam*, where they most joyfully met together and remained. Mr. *Nalton* having staid about half a Year there, had Leave to come Home again, and so returned into *England*: But no Pardon for Mr. *Cawton*, but upon unworthy Terms, which kept him where he was, to supply the Place of Minister to the *English* Congregation. That which he most rejoiced at was, that he was out of the Reach of Temptations, he would say, "It is a blessed Thing for those that have not strong Grace, to be out of Temptations."

He did not at all hanker after his native Country, but was weaned from it to Admiration. When his Wife spake of coming to *England*, he would say, "It may be God will call me to exercise more and greater Resolution and Sincerity than ever I have." He exactly verified that which a reverend Minister of *London* said in a Letter to him, *a godly Man is a Plant will thrive in any Soil: Any Place is a Country to him who makes no Place here below his Country, but as a Pilgrim and Stranger seeks a better Country, that is an heavenly.* A Citizen of Heaven is a Citizen of any Place on Earth, it is all one to him where he is. He took extraordinary Pains in preaching to his Congregation, and spent himself by Reason of the Want of Help, there being few or none that could preach in the *English* Tongue; yet he persisted though he were not assisted by any but God, by which he was able to say often, "When I am weak, then am I strong."

It will be superfluous to tell you he was an experienced Preacher; he felt what he spoke, and then

then spoke what he felt : He was not over curious in his Words, but used such as were very significant : He used so much Art as rightly to divide, not to rend the Word of Truth ; he preached not to shew his Learning, but that the Ignorant might learn. I need not tell you of his Trials, his whole Life was but one continued Series of Temptation : He was given to Prayer and Meditation, to which if you add his Sufferings for a good Conscience, you may behold the Character of a compleat Divine, whose three Notes are, Prayer, Meditation, and Temptation. But these are Generals, to descend to a few Particulars :

1. HE was an excellent Textuary, well read in the sacred Pages ; he was an Ark of Scripture, and would often say, “ that Sermon is no Sermon to me, that is not full of rightly applyed Scriptures.” He never rose in a Morning but the first Thing he did was to take his Bible into his Hand, and so lifting up his Eyes to Heaven in a most serious, Manner, he prayed shortly, and then read some Portion of Scripture ; which being observed by his loving Consort, she asked him why he used that Practise ? And he told her, “ It was my Custom ever since GOD made me a Minister.” Neither did he only delight in GOD’s Law, but was very clear and plain in expounding it ; he could fit his Discourses on it to every Necessity and Capacity.

2. HE was Minister (as hath been declared) in three Places, *Wivenho, London, and Rotterdam*, and in every one of these he preached over the whole Body of Divinity very methodically and exactly, and tho’ it were in different Places, yet he never preached one old Sermon, but has left three Bodies of Divinity, on several Texts, and differently handled, behind him as Witnesses of his

Laboriousness in his Function; nay all the While he was in *Holland* he never preached one old Sermon. By going through a System of Divinity he laid a Foundation for his People to build on, and successively held forth one Head after another all they were to believe or do.

3. He was eminent for the Study of the Sacraments, especially the LORD's-Supper; he was noted by many to be singularly well versed in the Doctrine of this Sacrament, particularly in that great Work of Self-examination, and Self-judging, but in the Practice of it he was most divine and seraphick; whether he received from another or administred it himself, he did it with so much Reverence and Affection, that he was almost transported on a Sacrament-day. The first Time he ever received, he was so deeply affected with the Love of his Saviour, that he swooned away as soon as he had received the Bread, and not coming to himself 'till the Sacrament was ended, he had the Cup administred to himself alone. Ever since he was Minister he celebrated the LORD's-Supper with so much Heavenliness and Seriousness, that all his Communicants could not chuse but observe him, as if they had received Angels Food from the Hand of an Angel; for at that Work he shewed himself more than Man.

4. In writing his Sermons he used to set down Nothing but his Heads and Places of Scripture, so that his Notes are very short: He never read any Thing, but always laid his Notes behind him, and would dehort young Men from reading, telling them that Memory loved to be trusted.

5. He himself observed, that Providence kept him about seven Years in every Place he was in;

God

GOD so ordered his Affairs that he was seven Years at *Cambridge*, seven at *Wivenhoe*, seven at *London*, and as many at *Rotterdam*: He would often say towards the End of the seventh Year in *Holland*, Where shall I be next? But GOD had no more Apprentiships for him to serve; The good and faithful Servant is now entered into his Master's Joy. Thus as a Minister.

As a Master, he was a Prophet, Priest and King in his Family, a Prophet to teach, a Priest to pray for, and a King to govern it; he was not so much a Master as a Father of a Family; tho' he could trust GOD when GOD's Cause required it with his Family, yet he did not provide for it (GOD enabling him) in a plentiful Manner, tho' he thought him worse than an Infidel that provides not for his own House, yet he counted him no better than an Infidel that does it by any unwarrantable Means. He could not abide to trouble himself with worldly Affairs, but committed all to his Second Self: He thought it below a Man, much more below a Minister, to be at Leisure to take Account of what was spent in his House: He was given to Hospitality, even in *Holland* where his Means were small in Comparison of his Charge: He never dined on a Sabbath Day without some of the poorer Sort of his Congregation, and he would be sure not to forget to call upon them when he came out of the Church, to come and take Part of what GOD had given him. He was so mild and meek to his Servants, that he did seem rather to love than to rule them; to desire than command them: By which sweet Disposition he wrought so deeply upon them, that they could not but love and speak well of him; nay, some of his Servants, next to GOD, owe their Salvation to his Ministry and Conversation: He was the
same

same at home he was abroad, and the same in his Heart as he was in his House: He kept a constant Hour Morning and Evening for reading the Scripture to, and praying with his Family, thinking that they that kept no set Time were in Danger to keep no Time.

As an Husband, he was loving and tender; he chose a Wife for her lovely Virtues, and loved her with the greatest Affection; they wedded one another's Humours as well as Persons, and so went the shortest Way to Perfection. He never denied her any Thing in all his Life that was consistent with his Ministry, and she never desired any Thing but what was becoming the Gospel. He would be stirring her up to Resolution for God, not that he thought her backward, but to make her more forward. He would communicate his Secrets to her, whom he knew to be faithful, and of his Mind. He would not slight her Advice in any Business, but if good, embrace and execute it. As for Temporals, he gave her the disposing of all, himself seldom meddling with any such Affairs, unless they were too hard for her to do. In all Things he behaved so as in the twenty Years they were married, there was not the least Jar or Discord, but a perfect Sympathy and Union of Affections.

As a Father, he was very careful for his Childrens Good, training them up in the Way they should go; he took a great deal of Pains to instruct and catechise them, to bring them up in *the Nurture and Admonition of the LORD*. He was very exemplary to his Children, and did sweetly command by his Example; with a welcome Violence, and free Necessity he insinuated into their Hearts; they were constrained, and yet consented; there

was

was so powerful and attractive a Virtue in his Carriage, it would have forced Love from a Marble Breast.

To his Example he added many Encouragements both by Speeches and Gifts; he never let any Sparks go out for Want of blowing up either by Commendation or Reward: He was wisely indulgent, and would dispense with any Slip but breaking of God's Laws. If he came to correct his Children, he did it with so much Love, that his sweet Admonitions and pathetical Instructions, shewing the Evil they had done, and his Lothness to correct, but that it was God's Ordinance, did more break their Hearts than the Correction itself: He was often so moved with Compassion, his fatherly Bowels did so yearn over them, that the Tears would trickle apace from his Eyes when he was correcting them: Nothing ever wrought upon me like this Sight, which did plainly convince his Children of his Unwillingness to chastise, but that he was forced to it; his Tears did sink so deep into their Hearts, that they could not but be softened at least for that Time; for, believe me, to see one's Parents weep, cannot but be a Grief to dutiful Children. He had his Children in Subjection with all Gravity; and yet I may say, that never was Father so little feared as he, because so much loved. In a Word, he left his Children God for a Father, when he left them; and they count it no small Privilege, that they can call God the God of their Father.

THIS Man of God had not been long at Rotterdam, but his Fame was spread abroad through all the United Provinces. He was highly esteemed by the *Dutch*, *French* and *English* Ministers round about. He had Correspondence with most
of

of the famous Professors, particularly with Dr. *Gisbert Voetius*, Divinity Professor, and Mr. *Leusden*, Professor of the Oriental Languages at *Utrecht*, with Mr. *Uchtman* and Mr. *Hulsius*, both Hebrew Professors, the one of *Leiden*, the other of *Breda*.

THOUGH *Rotterdam* were a Place very waterish and cold, yet he took Notice of GOD's great Goodness in Reference to his Health, which was better the first five Years, than ever it had been in any Place in his own Country. It is not an healthful Climate, but a good Physician, even the LORD that makes us healthful.

BUT the two or three last Years he was weak, and for Half a Year together had a continual Pain at his Stomach, so that it was a very difficult Thing for him to preach, yet he left not off, but chearfully and constantly preached, as at other Times: Though he never went up into the Pulpit, but every one thought he would either faint or die before he came down: He was indeed weary in his Work, but never weary of his Work. Once he did faint in the Pulpit, insomuch that his Voice failed him, and he was taken down, being unable to proceed; but by the Means of cordial Waters given him he recovered his Spirits in some Measure, yet not so as to preach in the Afternoon: When his Friends came about him in the Evening, he told them, "The Pulpit is a good Place to die in." By the next Sabbath he was (by GOD's Blessing) recruited, and preached Forenoon and Afternoon with much Vigour: But from that Time 'till within Half a Year of his Death he visibly decayed.

ABOUT this Time he had an only Son almost fit for the University, whom he did always, but especially

cially now much instruct and forward in his Studies. Mr. Robert Sheringham being then in Exile at Rotterdam, he sent his Son to him to learn the Hebrew, Syriack, and Arabick Tongues; and would every Morning call him to his Bed side, to expound a Greek or Hebrew Chapter: He spent much Time in catechising him in particular, seasoning him with the Knowledge of God, and charging him to walk as in God's Sight, when he was from under his Father's Eye. The Time coming, he went with him to the University of Utrecht, and there bestowed him, committing him to the Care of Dr. Gisbertus Voetius, and his Son Mr. Daniel Voetius, both Professors in that University, and eminent for Learning and Piety.

His Son thought good to communicate a Letter of Advice, written to him by his Father, which is as followeth:

SON THOMAS,

I AM glad to hear of your Welfare and Studies: My Directions at present in order to your happy and safe Progress in Learning are,

That you would take what Counsel you can to get a fixed and regular Method in your Studies, that they may neither be confused nor troublesome. I send you here a little Book, [Bisterfeldii Logica] in the End of which are two little Treatises, which I would have you read over a thousand Times, and to have them perfect at your Fingers End: The one he calls Phosphorus Catholicus, or the Art of Meditation; the other Consilium de studiis feliciter instituendis; you must now begin to settle yourself in an unchangeable Method of Studies, that you must hold all your Life, you must always be noting of what you hear, read,

read, and observe. I think you cannot be better advised by any, than by this little Treatise; yet Something may be added to it in the Matter of taking Notes, and about Paper-books; you must enquire what Method others follow, and compare theirs with this, and what you find excellent in theirs add to this. I do intend to consider what Paper-books you must have for all Sorts of Learning: In the mean Time I would have you note Things in a Quire of Paper, that you may transcribe them when you have settled your Method: You may call your Book of daily Notes your Diary, and here there must be nulla dies sine Inea. This Method of your Studies must be long deliberated on, because it is but once to be done.

As you frame your Elocution and Gesture now while you are young, such they will be when you come to Age. I would have you write all your Letters to me in Latin, for Exercise Sake; Exercises are the very Spirit of Studies: Learn to make your Sentences more short and quick.

You have your Time before you, and you may say with the Ancient, Si non nunc, quando? Therefore be careful you lose it not, for it is short, that which is past you can never recover, and what is to come you know not whether you may live to come to it; and for the present Time, it is but a Moment that soon passeth away: Now is the Time while you are young to perfect yourself in Philosophy, Languages, and all other divine and human Learning: Now your Parts are vigorous, and now you have Nothing else to do, or to molest you. Be constant in reading over the Old and New Testaments in their Originals, that you may be very ready in the Texts of Hebrew and Greek. I have heretofore counselled you to read often St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy and Titus, and can do no other than put you in Mind again. Pray to GOD daily for
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a Blessing on your Studies: Luther got more Learning by Prayer than by Study: Follow Paul's Rule, Keep yourself pure, that the Sins of your Youth may not be a Trouble to you in your old Age: Add GOD's Fear to all your Studies, knowing that the Fear of the LORD is the Beginning of true Wisdom.

My Desire is not only to have you a Scholar, but an excellent Scholar; let therefore your Resolutions and Endeavours be to excell; get as far on as may be, and let not others overtake you; let that noble Spirit be in you to get above others, and to put out your Parts. I desire Nothing but (as St. Paul saith) your Perfection; and, with Peter, that you may daily grow in Grace and Knowledge; give yourself wholly to these Things, that your Profiting may appear to all, that you may be a Workman that needeth not be ashamed. I send you Ringelsberg, and desire you to read every Day one Chapter in it; it is a Book that will put Life into a Scholar: I hope the Excellency of Anna Maria Schurman will provoke you young Scholars, not only to do as well as she hath done, but also to go beyond her.

Let us know what you do in French, for which I would have you spare one Hour in a Day, that when you are Master of that, you may begin with Italian, and so with Spanish; in these Languages there are many excellent Books: If you could converse with some Scholar that hath the French Tongue perfect, you might get it with Ease; when you understand a little, go to the French Church; always be speaking that little you have; it may be hereafter you may go into France, and study some Time there.

I very well approve of your following the Chaldee Paraphrase, and the being exact in the Punctuation. I will send you Clenard's Epistles, which I hope will

stir up your Zeal towards the Arabick Tongue; they were commended to me by the learned Arabick Professor, Mr. Abraham Wheelock, when I began to study Arabick; they are very good Epistolary Latin, and there are many Things in them worth the taking Notice of.

I see you have much Work upon your Hands; the good GOD of Heaven help you to go through it to his Glory, to your Parents Comfort, and to your own Comfort and Benefit. The GOD of Wisdom breathe upon your Studies: Be sure to get what Learning you can, while your Father lives. Your Father grows ancient and infirm, and you know not how soon GOD may call him from you: You are he that I hope to see come up to Something before I die; and if it shall please GOD to let me live so long as to see you thoroughly furnished for the Work of the Ministry, it will be great Satisfaction to me, and above all to see you endued from Heaven with Grace as well as Abilities.

Believe that your Father and Mother both shall be so careful of you, that you shall have all the Encouragements we are able to give you, even to the uttermost, that you may proceed cheerfully and with Courage in your Studies: Do all that is of good Report, want Nothing.

Have a Care of your Health, and use some Scholar-like Exercise, that will stand without Loss of Time, read, note, write, meditate, pray much, lose not the least Inches of Time. The Reason I press you to so many Things, is that when you are dulled with one, you may refresh yourself with another.

Your Mother and myself send you our Blessing, counting it our only Blessing here, to see our Children walking in the Truth. That good Man old Dr.
Voetius

Voetius will endeavour to season your Heart in the Matter of Religion, without which, Learning is but a Sword in a Madman's Hand. Christ Jesus dwell in your Heart, and keep you, and open your Understanding to understand the Scripture. I have Nothing else, but to believe that GOD will make you an Instrument of his Glory and our Comfort. To his Grace I commend you, and rest,

Your loving Father,

THO. CAWTON.

HAVING settled his Son at *Utrecht*, it pleased GOD to give him another Son, which was his third Child in *Holland*, and the last he had. He named him *Gershom*, for he said, *I have been a Stranger in a strange Land*; and devoted him, like another *Samuel*, to the LORD and the Ministry from his Cradle: But GOD's Providence hath taken him away from us, to be a Companion to his Father in Glory as well as in Sufferings.

A LITTLE after, in the Year 1658, the King's Majesty being at *Brussels*, and calumniated as being a Papist, his Majesty was pleased to send a Letter to Mr. Cawton, testifying his Constancy in the Protestant Religion, and desiring him to wipe off that unjust Aspersions by satisfying all of his Steadfastness in that Religion; the Letter was printed a little before his Majesty's Return to this Kingdom, to clear him then; and deserves here to be inserted: It is this;

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CHARLES

CHARLES R.

TRUSTY and Well-beloved, we greet you well; we have received so full a Testimony from Persons (to whom we give entire Credit) of your good Affection to our Person, and Zeal to our Service, that we are willing to recommend an Affair to you, in which we are very much concerned. We do not wonder that the Malice of our Enemies should continue to lay all Manner of Scandals upon us, which might take away our Reputation; but that they should find Credit with any to make our Affection to the Protestant Religion in any Degree suspected, is very strange, since the World cannot but take Notice of our constant and uninterrupted Profession and Exercise of it, in those Places where the contrary Religion is only practised and allowed. And though we do not boast of doing that, which we should be heartily ashamed if we did not do; we may reasonably believe that no Man hath, or can more manifest his Affection to, and Zeal for the Protestant Religion, than we have done; or in some Respects hath more suffered for it. And therefore we are the more sensibly affected, that those Calumnies can make Impression to our Disadvantage, in the Minds of honest and pious Men, as we are informed they have done. And we do the rather impart the Sense we have of our suffering in this Particular to you, because, as you have the Charge of the English Congregation in Rotterdam; so you cannot but have much Conversation and Acquaintance with the Ministers of the Dutch Church, and others in that populous Place, with whom we would not suffer under so unjust and scandalous an Imputation. And we presume and expect from you, that you will use your utmost Diligence and Dexterity, to root out those unworthy Aspersions, so maliciously and groundlessly laid upon us by wicked Men; and that you assure all, who will give Credit to you, that we value ourself so much upon
that

that Part of our Title of being Defender of the Faith, that no worldly Temptations can ever prevail with us to swerve from it, and the Protestant Religion, in which we have been bred: The Propagation wherof we shall endeavour with our utmost Power. And as we shall never fail in the Performance of our Duty herein, so we shall take the Offices you shall do, in vindicating us from these Reprouches, very well from you. In which we promise ourself you will serve us effectually. And so we bid you Farewell. Given at our Court at Brussels, the seventh Day of November, in the tenth Year of our Reign.

By his Majesty's Command.

EDWARD NICOLAS.

THE last Half-year he was observed to look better than ever before, insomuch that many of his Friends were not a little deceived; the Truth is, he himself found himself better than ever, yet did many Time cast out Speeches, as if he could not live long.

THE last Sabbath he ever preached was the third of August, 1659. That Day he administered the Sacrament of the LORD's Supper with his wonted Heavenliness, and preached Forenoon and Afternoon, with as much Zeal as ever he was known to do: His Text was that of our Saviour to his Disciples: *Now ye are clean through the Word which I have spoken unto you*; shewing, that the usual Means whereby Men are made clean, was the Preaching of the Gospel. He made two excellent Sermons on those Words; and if he had known, he should have concluded his Ministry that Day, he could not have chosen a fitter Text.

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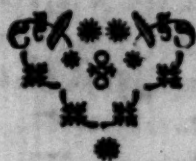
HAVING spent himself much with Preaching, and being wearied by the great Pains he had taken that Day, after the Afternoon Sermon (according to his usual Manner) he laid himself down upon his Bed to rest a little: After he had slumbered about Half an Hour, he awaked, and having some warm Thing brought him to drink, he drank heartily, but said not any Thing, being a little sleepy. He laid down again about a Quarter of an Hour, and had another little Slumber, and then rising, got up alone, and sat upon his Bed-side: His Wife perceiving him to look very ill, (though she did not in the least suspect more Danger than formerly) asked him how he did? He answered, *I cannot tell how*: She leading him to a Chair two or three Steps off, he sat down and suddenly fainted. He was a good While rubbed and chafed, having his Mouth opened by Force to pour in strong Waters; and coming a little to himself, he lifted up his Eyes, and said, *I shall never come to myself again*: Whereupon his Wife said to his Son, fetch the Doctor quickly, but he said, *No, no*. The Doctor was just gone by his Door, and coming back, gave him some little Physick, which wrought well; but he was very sick, and faint, and not able to speak, so that about Seven o'Clock he was had to Bed, and continued slumbering all Night, not once speaking to any, or so much as opening his Eyes, but refusing every Thing the Doctor appointed him to take. In the Morning he with much ado spake two or three Words, and bad his Son answer a Letter that came from *Amst rdam*, but all the Day lay in a drowsy Posture speaking to none. It proved to be a Palsey all over his Right-side and Tongue, and so he lay 'till Four o'Clock on *Thursday* Morning being the 7th of *August*, 1659, and then gave up the Ghost. Yet observable it is, that *Wednesday* he called for all his Children

Children by Name, and blessed them, laying his Hand on their Head, and lifting up his Eyes, and had his Memory so well, that one of his Children being wanting, [sleeping in its Cradle] he said, *One more*, and so it was brought to him. He had his Eye fixed for a great While together on his eldest Son, and stroked him often as he stood by him, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, in Token of his praying for him.

THE *Dutch* Ministers took Order to have him buried in their own Grave, and accordingly attended him to it.

HE was about fifty Years old when he died, of Stature tall and thin, in Countenance lean and pale, of a very weak Constitution, yet very active; of a courteous Nature, very affable and easy to be entreated; in his Fashions neither rude nor fantastick: He was both moral and gracious, and in all his Actions graceful; Earth hath lost, and Heaven hath gained a Saint by his Death. He is now blessed, and no doubt but his Name is precious among those that have *received like precious Faith*.

End of the Forty-ninth VOLUME.

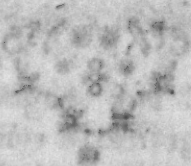


One way, and in it was brought to him, the way
 being weary. Reaching in its Clasp, it
 was the history as well, that one of his
 Shad on their lives, and many up his feet, and
 Calender by name, and killed them, saying his

1. The House Member took Order to have him
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